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ART. I.—THE EARLY FLEMISH PAINTERS.

The Early Flemish Painters: Notices of their Lives and Works.
By J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle. London: John Murray. 1857.

A VIGOROUS and original school of painting flourished in Flanders, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, under the fostering patronage of the Dukes of Burgundy; but the scarcity of materials, and the dispersion of many of their works throughout Europe, has hitherto rendered it a difficult task to compose a distinct and connected account of the lives and labours of the early Flemish artists. The palace-archives of the Dukes of Burgundy, the records of the guilds, and the chapters of the convents and churches, contained indeed much valuable information; this, however, was inaccessible to the ordinary inquirer; and when the French Revolutionary army invaded Belgium, they broke into these interesting records, and finding that they afforded an admirable material for cartridges, used them for their muskets and cannon, and thus destroyed much of what would have furnished invaluable information to the historian of the ancient schools of painting in Flanders. The attention of the Belgian government has, however, been lately directed to the residue; and by their orders, searches have been made, the result of which has been to disinter a vast number of curious and valuable documents elucidating the history of early Flemish art; while, at the same time, the inquiries of M. de Laborde, who was recently authorized by the French government to examine the records of the House of Burgundy, have been rewarded by the discovery of most interesting passages in the lives of the various painters attached

to the ducal court. To collate and arrange the information thus obtained, has been the object of the authors of the volume before us, and we are happy to congratulate them upon the ability they have shown in discharging their self-imposed task. Besides carefully studying the documents placed at their disposal, they tell us that they have visited and compared most of the masterpieces of the artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries scattered throughout Europe, and are thus enabled to speak of them with that intimate knowledge and vivid recollection which personal inspection alone can confer.

Art in the early schools of Flanders, as well as in those of Italy, was almost wholly religious. In point of finish, in landscape, and in colour, the German painters had the advantage, but they were harder in outline, and inferior in that expression of devotional fervour for which the early Italians were so eminently distinguished. Painting began to flourish in Belgium towards the end of the fourteenth century, immediately after the accession of the House of Valois to the throne of Burgundy. The elements of strength and progress had indeed existed before that time; but under the rule of the Counts of Flanders, they had been prevented from developing themselves by constant wars and intestine commotions, which the vigorous policy of the dukes in a great measure suppressed. Bruges and the other great cities of Flanders had been previously rich and powerful, but they had neither the wish nor the leisure to foster art, and bring it to that degree of perfection to which it subsequently attained under the Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Hardy, John the Fearless, and Philip the Good. In their days, the three great powers of the state, the court, the clergy, and the commons, were enlisted in support of Flemish art, and the happiest results were thus obtained, not only in painting, but also in civil architecture; for to this period belong those superb town-halls which still excite the admiration of every traveller. The latter end of the fourteenth, and beginning of the fifteenth century, mark the erection of those of Brussels, Louvain, and Ghent; the end of the fifteenth, and beginning of the sixteenth, of those of Oudenarde, Mons, Coutraï, and Léau.

The great central school of early Flemish painting was in the town of Bruges, to which the Dukes of Burgundy, on their accession to the title of Counts of Flanders and Artois, had brought with them the luxurious habits and love of display which characterized the court of France. Bruges has been long shorn of its splendour; but in those days it was one of the chief marts of commerce, and one of the wealthiest cities in Europe:—

"The old travellers who described this thriving city in the time of its prosperity, would scarcely recognise it now in its period of decay. Contemplative minds may still be struck by the beauty and grandeur of monuments, but derive a painful contrast from desert streets and stagnant water. Bruges, no longer open to the sea, is but the shadow of its ancient name. The great canal that stretched from its walls to the port of Sluys, and floated ships of the greatest size, is now silted up; and on the shores of the sea, may still be traced the ancient works which were the ornament and defence of this commercial capital. The quays, which once were piled with British wool and Eastern silks, are empty. The Turks, the Greeks, the English, and Italians, no longer throng there; and all is silent, still, and lonely."—P. 49.

The early records of the school of Bruges are meagre and scanty; the writers of that day were too busy in recounting the political struggles of their time, to pay much attention to the development of art, leaving posterity to search out its traces through the obscurity of ages. In 1383, Philip the Hardy founded a Carthusian convent near Dijon, where he caused two great shrines or altar-pieces to be erected, and adorned with carvings by Jacques de la Baerse, a Flemish sculptor, and with pictures by Melchior Broederlain, a Flemish painter, who was attached to the ducal court, and had a yearly pension of 200 livres. The subjects depicted by Melchior were the Annunciation, the Presentation in the Temple, the Salutation, and the Flight into Egypt, and above them, God the Father, with the triple crown, and angels near him. They are chiefly remarkable for clear and light flesh tints, want of vigour, abruptness of light and shade, thinness and meagreness of colour, and lack of *chiaroscuro*—all special characteristics of the old Westphalian school. The hands and feet are ugly and lengthy, and the aspect of the infant Christ is disagreeable; but the draperies are disposed in the simple and graceful mode peculiar to the early painters of Cologne, who appear to have exercised a considerable influence on the style of Melchior. But Broederlain was the herald of the dawn of a brighter day, when the genius of the two illustrious brothers Van Eyck, was to shed imperishable glory upon the school of Bruges. In them it culminated, and after their deaths rapidly declined; the mantle of their genius not descending upon any of their scholars or successors. The family of Van Eyck had its origin in the Duchy of Limburg, on the banks of the Meuse, and Hubert, the elder brother, was born at Maaseyck in 1366, and became a member of the guild of painters in Ghent, where he had fixed his residence, in 1412; but no trace remains of his occupations during the long series of years that preceded his

admission into that fraternity. Hubert had two younger brothers, John (of whom we shall afterwards speak), and Lambert, both in the service of the Duke of Burgundy, and a sister Margaret, an artist of considerable merit, and so devoted to painting, that she determined to have no other husband, and preserved her spinsterhood throughout life. None of Hubert's earlier pictures have been preserved; and while his brother John was painter to the Burgundian court at Bruges, he seems to have had no princely patron. His style is distinguished for richness, power, and grandeur; John's for softness, finish, and a more perfect acquaintance with the mechanism of oil-painting. The most important circumstance connected with Hubert's residence in Ghent, is the commission which he received from Jodocus Vyds, Seigneur de Pamèle, to paint the altar-piece of a chapel which he had founded in the Church of St. Bavon. This magnificent painting, or rather series of paintings, is now well known under the name of the Mystic Lamb, and consists of a number of striking scenes from the Apocalypse painted on the panels of a folding altar-piece:—

“On one of them, which represents the apparition of the angel to the Virgin, is an open window, which discloses a perspective view of Ghent. With the happy carelessness of painters, it seemed no greater incongruity to make the holy apparition figure in a Flemish chamber, than to cap the semblance of Eternity with the papal tiara, or give Godfrey of Bouillon the armour of the fifteenth century. The view appears to have been one from nature, for its site and features still in part exist. On the right, is the steeple of the Weavers' church; and, behind it, a gate, since destroyed, bearing the name of ‘Walpoorte.’ On the left, is the ‘St. Martin's Straat,’ and the ‘Steen van Papeghem.’ The Gantois now pretend that the view was from Van Eyck's own window, No. 26, Koey Straat, where, accordingly, medallion portraits of the painters have been placed.”—Pp. 33, 34.

Hubert did not live to complete the Mystic Lamb, which was finished by John; he had only brought its upper portion to a conclusion at the period of his death in 1426. He was buried on the 18th of September, in a vault below the chapel which his genius had adorned; his right arm, which had achieved such marvels in art, was severed from his body, and suspended in a casket above the portal of St. Bavon, where it still remained in the sixteenth century. The following is a translation of his epitaph, equally characteristic of the painter and of the times:—

“Take warning from me, ye who walk over me; I was as you are, but am now buried dead beneath you. Thus it appears that neither art nor medicine availed me; art, honour, wisdom, power, affluence, are

spared not when death arrives. I was called Hubert van Eyck: I am now food for worms. Formerly known and highly honoured in painting, this all was shortly after turned to nothing. It was in the year of the Lord, one thousand four hundred and twenty-six, on the 18th day of September, that I rendered up my soul to God in suffering. Pray God for me ye who love art, that I may attain to his sight. Flee sin, turn to the best objects, for you must follow me at last."

Jan van Eyck was much younger than Hubert, and was also born at Maaseyck between the years 1382 and 1386. His early education was conducted by his brother, who employed him as his assistant, and taught him drawing, painting, and chemistry,—branches of study which were common to the elder schools of art in Flanders, Germany, and Italy. The discovery, or at least the important practical improvement of the art of painting in oils, has generally been attributed to Jan van Eyck; but the authors of the volume before us appear to be of opinion that the merit of this great revelation in art should be shared between the brothers, and that the earliest applications of the improvements in the use of oil as a medium, are due to the elder brother. Here is their statement of this controverted point:—

"The first practical example of the new manner, it must be borne in mind, is a picture by Petrus Cristus of the year 1417, painted in a manner which convinces the spectator that the author of it was the pupil of Hubert van Eyck. If it be assumed that the earlier improvements were complete in 1410, then Cristus would have had five or six years to perfect himself in them. It was not until 1420 that John van Eyck became connected by fame with the discoveries of oil-painting. It was in that year, and not earlier, that he was present at a gathering of painters in Antwerp, where he exhibited in triumph a picture representing the Saviour; upon the beauty of which he received the utmost compliment, not only because of its intrinsic merit, but because it was painted in oil-colours. But the admiration of the Antwerp painters may have been owing less to the novelty of the discovery, than to some notable improvement introduced by John in the practice of the new system of painting in oil; and we may safely suppose that, at last, and after the death of Hubert, the practical difficulties of the system were finally resolved, and that for this John van Eyck was hailed everywhere as the discoverer. The panels of Hubert van Eyck are an evidence of his superiority. It was not till he died that John became the first in art. He admits this himself in the epitaph to his brother, which is found on the picture of the Mystic Lamb. John van Eyck completed that picture after his brother's death, and showed his inferiority in immediate contrast. There is no picture in the school which possesses such vigour of conception and colour as those parts

which are executed by Hubert. But the method in which the panels are painted prove also that John van Eyck became more perfect in the mechanical and chemical portion of his art. John van Eyck's panels indisputably offer to us a greater knowledge of the fusion of tints, greater finish and accuracy in the minutiae, than those of his brother. They have a less brown and dark tinge of shadow, which proves that progress had been made in the discolouration of varnishes; and these improvements he no doubt made and successfully carried out. It is, perhaps, for these reasons that Fazio, the friend and follower of Alphonso, King of Naples, called him 'Prince of all the painters of his age; and not merely great in art, but also learned in geometry, and all the arts which appertain to the ornament of painting, because he had discovered many things in the properties of colour, of which he had found the source among the ancients, by the reading of Pliny and other authors.' "

In 1425, Philip the Good, a prince devoted to art, succeeded to the ducal throne of Burgundy, and chose John van Eyck for his "*varlet de chambre*,"—the appointment speaking in high terms of the painter's genius and good qualities. His salary was fixed at 100 livres parisis, and the treasurer was cautioned to be regular in its payment. John, though termed a *varlet*, did no menial service, and was allowed a domestic in livery and two horses for his own use. Like Rubens and Velasquez in later days, he was entrusted with many confidential missions by his master. In 1428, he travelled to Portugal, where he painted the portrait of the Princess Isabel, afterwards Duchess of Burgundy, and before returning, also visited Spain. For his services as painter and diplomatist, he was munificently rewarded on his return to Bruges. The duke was constantly giving him proofs of his kindness and regard. He paid the rent of his house at Bruges; and when an empty treasury compelled him to stop the wages of his servants, John was specially exempted. Monarchs have often found a welcome relaxation from the cares of state in the studio of great artists, and have conferred high honours on their favourite painters: Philip IV. of Spain with his own hand painted the order of Santiago on the breast of Velasquez, and Charles V. picked up the brush of Titian. Duke Philip, too, was frequently in the habit of visiting the studio of John van Eyck, and, on these occasions, used sometimes to shower on the apprentices all the silver which his pockets contained, besides making handsome presents to their master. In 1434, the duke stood godfather to John's infant daughter, and presented him after the ceremony with a gift of six silver cups.

When the progress of the great altar-piece in the chapel of St. Bavon was interrupted by the death of Hubert, Jodocus

Vydts intrusted John with the charge of completing it, and much controversy has arisen with regard to the share of the respective brothers in this vast undertaking. Hubert, as we have said, commenced the picture, but at the period of his death, it was not quite half completed, and was not finally finished until 1432, when the consecration of the chapel for which it was executed, was splendidly solemnized in the presence of admiring crowds. John had many patrons besides the Duke of Burgundy, the principal of whom was Rollin, the chancellor of the duchy. Of him, John painted a noble portrait kneeling to the Virgin and Saviour. He also executed portraits of Arnoulph, the treasurer, of the Sire van Leeuw (which may still be seen at Vienna), and of many other persons of distinction. John van Eyck died at Bruges in 1440-41; his body lies in a vault near the font of the church at St. Donat, where funeral masses for the repose of his soul were yearly celebrated for upwards of three centuries after his death, until finally stopped by the first French revolution. The following is a translation of his epitaph inscribed upon a pillar of the church:—

“Here lies Jan who was celebrated for his surpassing skill, and whose felicity in painting excited admiration. He painted breathing forms, and the earth’s surface covered with flowery vegetation, completing each work to the life. Hence Phidias and Apelles must give place to him, and Polyclethus be deemed his inferior. Call, therefore, the fates most cruel who have snatched from us such a man. Yet cease to weep, for destiny is immutable; only pray now to God that he may live in heaven.”

The works of the brothers Van Eyck are described and criticized with great care, taste, and minuteness, and at considerable length, in the “Early Flemish Painters.” Mural painting was but little known or practised in the Netherlands, and the panels upon which pictures were generally executed were easily destroyed or removed; and this is one great cause why so many of the monuments of early Flemish art have perished. This, especially, has been the fate of most of the pictures of Hubert, and hence he has been sacrificed for centuries to the fame which his younger brother succeeded in engrossing by his improvements in oil mediums and varnishes. Yet Hubert transcended in genius both his brother and every other painter in the Netherlands:—

“His grand character, as chief of the Flemish school, was severity and nobleness of expression. His great quality was colour; but he failed in idealism. The gravity and pensiveness which marked his saints was not in every instance coupled with a sentiment of

holiness and that elevated type which Scripture would impress; and though he never proved himself a trivial or vulgar painter, his mind was not above some weakening conceits. Had he possessed the entire gift of simplicity, he would not have laden the broad and sweeping folds of his drapery with the superfluous ornaments which profusely cover them. With these exceptions, nothing is wanting in the pictures of Hubert Van Eyck. Few men of his time in Italy, none in the Netherlands, have proved themselves as perfect as he was in anatomy, and in the perspective of the human frame. But where he most excelled was, as we have said, in colour. His works are vivid, powerful, and harmonious; and had Hubert's pupils been Italians instead of Flemings,—had Venice and not Bruges become his resting place, he would have been the founder of a school of colour. But the tendency to realism which marked his works became exaggerated in his pupils, who seeking for perfection more in patient art than by superior genius, fell at once into a lower rank, and never afterwards arose from it."—Pp. 72, 73.

The grand figures of the Father, the Virgin, St. John, Adam, and Eve, occupying the upper portion of the Mystic Lamb, Hubert's only authentic picture, have been unfortunately separated and dispersed,—part being preserved in Ghent, and part in Berlin. The Agnus Dei, occupying the central panel, and the wings were painted by John after his brother's death. The following animated and picturesque description of this magnificent altar-piece while yet entire, affords a favourable specimen of the style of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle:—

"In its complete and finished form, the altar-piece deserved the great and lasting admiration which it excited. It not only formed a splendid harmony within itself, but, being executed for the place in which it stood, it harmonized with all around it. Chapels and churches were then vastly different from what they are at present, or were a little later. The walls were covered here with tapestries, there with stuffs of various sorts; numerous votive pictures hung around, and the space was crowded where it is now empty. The chapel of Jodocus Vydts was devoted to setting off a splendid picture; and nothing can be well imagined finer than the open altar-piece, at the moment of the mass, unadorned by candles, flowers, or aught that carries off the eye; for these adornments were only introduced a little later. The subject too, was grand and well-conceived, suited to the feelings of the people, and in harmony with the fervour of religion common to the age. It was taken from Revelation, then a fertile source of inspiration to the sculptor and the painter, from which at first, indeed, the former took the incidents which adorned the painted portals of the convents and cathedrals. There sat enthroned the figure of God the Father, holding up his fingers to bless the world, with the papal tiara on his head; John the Baptist on his left, and the Virgin Mary on his right. At his feet stood the Lamb; and round the altar where he bled,

were all the angels,—all the saints and martyrs peculiarly made holy by the Church of Rome. There were popes and bishops, and female saints, hermits and holy pilgrims, crusaders and heroes of the early Christian legends, all advancing to adore the Lamb,—all converging to one central point, through varied landscapes, on foot with staves, on horse-back clad in simple tunic or sable armour. Nor while the symbols of eternal happiness were thus being paraded before the people, did the painter hesitate to place before them those of punishment; for on the socket of the altar-piece, was seen a picture of the tortured down below, according to the old-established custom, which made the monks of old Greek churches paint that subject upon the porticoes, as emblematic of the hapless state which waits on those who kept without the pale of the mother church. He represented also, on the altar-piece, the Sybils who foretold the coming of our Saviour, the Annunciation, and the Evangelists, Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel, in prominent positions, impressing on the mind of the spectator the enormity of mortal sin, destined to be purified by the sacrifice of the Lamb."

The figures of St. John and of the Virgin, by Hubert, in this master-piece, are particularly noble; the former is austere in expression, and noble in form; and the latter, with long light hair flowing over her shoulders, holds a book in her graceful hands, in an attitude at once elegant and natural. The colouring of both is admirable; rich and brown, and free from all appearance of tedious workmanship. The central panel of the *Agnus Dei* is that in which John shows to most advantage; it is a vivid, powerful, and highly finished picture, full of figures in varied attitudes and expressions, and of charming landscapes with green flowing meadows and sparkling fountains.

Besides this great work, there are still a number of pictures in various parts of Europe, by John van Eyck, bearing authentic signatures and dates. In our own National Gallery, there are two (Nos. 186 and 222 of the catalogue), both good examples of the master. But perhaps the best of his great works, splendid both in design and execution, is the altar-piece of the Santa Trinita Museum, at Madrid, intended to represent the triumph of the Greek and Latin churches over the Jews; the field of victory being a mediæval court in the pointed style of St. Laurent of Nuremberg. In this picture John has introduced his own portrait, and that of his brother Hubert, among the attendants of a pope who is pointing to the sacred host; the countenance of the elder is full, powerful, and somewhat stern; that of the younger, less bold, but more sharply cut and intellectual. This is the noblest painting of the Flemish school, with the exception of the *Mystic Lamb* of St. Bavon. There is another fine example of John's powers in the Louvre, representing Chancellor Rollin kneeling with a missal, before the Virgin and Child. In the background

is a perspective view of the city of Bruges, and—according to one authority—“more than two thousand figures, of which the variety and attitudes can only be perceived with the assistance of a magnifying glass.”

Landscapes were generally prominent features in the works of John van Eyck, and his influence and example are said by some to have extended beyond the Alps, and to have caused their introduction into the paintings of the Florentine artists of the fifteenth century. These landscapes have been universally and justly admired for their truth to nature, minute finish, and excellence in aerial perspective. John, however, does not seem to have been thoroughly acquainted with the rules of linear perspective; for although his landscape backgrounds are correct, his foreground figures are frequently defective, and there is not an instance of his producing foreshortened figures true to the rules of perspective, which were better understood and more successfully practised by his Italian contemporary, Paolo Ucello, who used to shut himself up for weeks in his studio to study its mysteries; answering the entreaties of his wife, when she begged him for a little while to lay aside his work, “Ah! anima mia, if you could but understand the delights of perspective!” Before parting from John van Eyck, we may advert to one charming peculiarity of many of his paintings, their still unimpaired freshness and brilliancy of colour—clear and bright in spite of the lapse of centuries; for time, which has dimmed the tones of many a picture painted long after his era, has respected the purity and brilliancy of this early master.

Colin, or Colart le Voleur, one of John van Eyck's successors in the offices of ducal painter and “*varlet-de-chambre*,” was an accomplished and ingenious machinist; and in this capacity, was of great service to Philip of Burgundy, who had a most unprincely fondness for practical jokes. The castle of Hesdin, his favourite residence, was as full of traps and pitfalls as a modern theatre, which served to assist in the perpetration of those coarse jokes that formed the staple of mediæval fun. The following examples will serve to give some idea of the sort of entertainment which an unsuspecting stranger used to experience in the castle of Hesdin. On entering from a certain gallery into a neighbouring passage, he was startled by the sudden apparition of a wooden figure spouting water, and a fright and a ducking were the results. At other times, a set of brushes would be set in motion, and the patient would have his face blackened or whitened, as the case might be. There was also an engine which seized a man and thrashed him soundly. Advantage was taken of the proverbial curiosity of the female sex; for in the great gallery was a trap, and near it the figure

of a hermit who prophesied. Ladies were his most frequent victims; for, no sooner did they approach to have their fortunes told, than the ceiling opened, and poured forth rain; thunder claps, preceded by lightning, followed; and when they took refuge from the storm, they found themselves entrapped in a pitfall above a sack of feathers; after which they were, at last, allowed to make their escape. In the great gallery there was also a bridge which dropped saunterers into the water; and engines which spouted water whenever they were touched. In the hall, too, were figures spouting water; and at the entrance of a gallery, eight water-jets wetted the passers by, while three small pipes at the same time covered them with flour. Splendid missals were also placed so as to attract the curious, and then cover them with soot or mud; in short, there was no limit to the ingenious pleasantries of the duke, assisted by the practical skill of Colart le Voleur, which was rewarded with a sum of 1,000 livres, or ten times the annual salary of his great predecessor, John van Eyck.

The disciples and successors of Hubert and John Van Eyck, with two exceptions, need not detain us long. In 1449, Roger van der Weyden, one of the most distinguished among them, paid a visit to Italy, being the first Flemish artist who is recorded to have done so. He went to Ferrara, Florence, and Rome; and at the last place, is said to have pronounced Gentile da Fabriano—of whom Michel Angelo remarked that his painting was like his name (Gentile)—to be the first artist in Italy. A curious story is told of one of Van der Weyden's most celebrated pictures, a *Descent from the Cross*, painted for the church of Notre Dame, *hors des murs*, at Louvain. To this Mary of Hungary took so great a liking that she succeeded in obtaining it, on condition of furnishing a copy by Coxie. She then sent it to Spain, but the ship which contained it was in imminent danger of foundering in a tempest, and to lighten her, much valuable merchandise and this picture were thrown overboard. The former was irretrievably lost, but the painting in its case was cast on shore, little damaged by the rough treatment it had met with. It is now in the Queen of Spain's gallery in Madrid, but so badly hung that it can scarcely be seen.

We shall close our notice of the early Flemish painters, by some account of the two greatest followers of the Van Eycks—Antonello da Messina, the connecting link between the schools of Bruges and Venice, in whose works the German and Italian elements are both visible; and Hans Memling, the most suave, graceful, and mystical of the early Belgian masters. Antonello was born at Messina, about the year 1414, of a family of artists. His grandfather, father, and uncle, had all been painters, and

many of their works ornamented the churches of their native city. Salvatore, the parent of Antonello, after having instructed his son in the rudiments of painting, sent him to Rome, at an early age, in order to complete his professional studies. He remained there for several years, and then returned to Sicily, and visited Palermo, where Alphonso, of Arragon, at that time held his court. From thence he repaired to Messina, where he left some proofs of his talent; and in 1438, went to Naples, and became the pupil of Colantonio del Fiore, then at the head of the Neapolitan masters. Colantonio's style of colouring had been much influenced by the Flemish pictures of the school of Bruges, which had been sent to Italy. Some of these were of great merit; and one of them by Van der Goes, a pupil of the Van Eycks, painted for the church of Santa Maria Nuova at Florence, is still in fine preservation, and its charming and exquisitely finished details—a vase of flowers, rich carpet, splendid furniture, gems, embroideries, and magnificent landscapes—have been frequently copied by subsequent painters. Antonello, having seen a picture by Van Eyck, was so much struck by its excellence, that he determined to visit the country where it had been painted, and, accordingly, lost no time in setting out for Flanders. Then he became intimate with John van Eyck, and learned from him the secret of oil-painting; and according to an old Flemish MS. still extant, before leaving the country he presented to the church of St. Bavon, a picture by himself, painted in the new method, as a token of the benefits he had derived from the great master of the school of Bruges. His style, subsequently to this period, affords ample indications of the way in which he had profited by the instructions he received, and none of the German pupils of Hubert or John appear to have appropriated their leading characteristics so successfully as this Italian. After the death of John, Antonello went to Messina, remained there for a few months, and then proceeded to Venice, where he arrived about the middle of the fifteenth century. He was soon employed in painting the portraits of many of the Venetian nobility, which were exceedingly admired for their beauty of finish and brilliancy of colour. Antonello avoided many of the faults of the Flemish school, such as its lengthy drawing and meagre forms, while he imitated its minuteness and delicacy of finish, and surpassed it in simplicity of tints and beauty of intonation.

In the fifteenth century, intimate relations had been established between the Ultramontane and Venetian schools. German painters were received with special favour in Venice, and left numerous examples of their skill in her palaces and churches. Thus, in the church of the Servites, there was

formerly a noble painting, by John van Eyck, of the Adoration of the Magi; and at a later period, Hans Memling adorned the Breviary of Cardinal Grimani, now in the Library of St. Mark, with miniatures and illuminations of such incomparable beauty that, even in Italy, they were esteemed miracles of art. Several Venetian painters also crossed the Alps, travelled into the Netherlands, and succeeded in imitating the style of the Flemish painters; and during the greater part of the fifteenth century, the Germanic impress was preserved in Venice among the family of the Vivarini, who lived on the island of Murano; and Luigi, the ablest of their number, the competitor with John Bellini in the Confraternità di San Girolamo, may be considered as the last type of the semi-German semi-Italian painter, afterwards absorbed in the great national school of Venice. Antonello, however, more than any other, may be regarded as having imparted to the Venetians the finish and minuteness which he owed to his studies in Flanders. His influence is clearly discernible in the paintings of Giovanni and Gentile Bellini. His first and last picture, and those of the Bellini, were, so to speak, the links of a perfect chain. The Italian element grew in Antonello as he increased in years, his latest pictures being the least Flemish and most like those of the Bellini. They, afterwards, casting aside the last remnant of minuteness and rigidity, which marked the crowning efforts of Antonello, gave the finishing touch to his manner. From that to the perfection of Giorgione and Titian, was but a further step in the line of progress. We may observe in the portrait by John Bellini, in our National Gallery, how great was the effect of the influence of Antonello; there, warmth of colouring and finish of design combine to make the picture pleasing, yet it is but the style of Antonello softened and Italianized. Antonello, at two different periods, resided for thirty years in the Venetian territory; and this lengthened residence satisfactorily accounts for the marked influence of his style upon the early Venetian masters, and also for the fact, that towards the end of the fifteenth century, oil-painting was universally practised at Venice, though comparatively unknown in other parts of Italy. He died at Venice in 1493, full of years and honours, and was buried with great pomp by his brother artists, who celebrated his name in a Latin epitaph as the first Italian who introduced into his native country the improved method of painting in oils. Those who wish a detailed account of his works will find it in the eleventh chapter of the "Early Flemish Painters."

The secret which Antonello introduced into Italy was destined to be a fatal one. According to Vasari, he had communicated

it to Domenico Veneziano; and Domenico's false friend, Andrea del Castagna, disguising, under the mask of a tender regard, the envy and hatred which rankled in his heart, on account of the superior popularity and accomplishments of Domenico, succeeded in drawing from him the new method of painting in oils, at that time unknown in Tuscany. After thus learning his secret, he watched for an opportunity, waylaid Domenico one evening as he returned from serenading his mistress, and barbarously murdered him by repeated blows. He then feigned the utmost grief, so that no suspicion was attached to him; nor would his villany have been ever discovered, had not the pangs of remorse compelled him, when on his death-bed, to confess the atrocious crime of which he had been guilty.

Of the personal history, birth, and residence of Hans Memling—perhaps the greatest follower of the Van Eycks—but little is certainly known, though several legends with regard to him have been extensively circulated. It is not ascertained whether he was born at Bruges or at Damme, but he appears to have spent some portion of his early life at Brussels, and to have received instructions in painting from Roger van der Weyden. Some authors have affirmed that, when a young man, he went to Italy, and later in life to Spain; but for these journeys there seems to be no sufficient authority. Tradition also asserts that he was a soldier as well as a painter, and a follower of Charles the Rash in his ill-advised Swiss campaigns, but this too lacks confirmation. Thus much seems to be certain that, subsequently to the year 1477, he must have worked a great deal in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges, where, according to one account, he painted out of gratitude for having been kindly received when wounded and helpless. His death occurred during the year 1499. He still lives in his works, of which nearly a hundred yet remain. The cities of Bruges and Lubeck, and the galleries of Vienna, Munich, Florence, Turin, and the Louvre, afford excellent examples of his style, showing that his life must have been diligently occupied in the exercise of his profession as a painter, and rendering it highly improbable that much of his time could have been spent in the ruder toils of a warlike career. The style of this charming painter though graceful and poetical, is at the same time, simple and severe, exhibiting in the figures, drapery, and grouping, a great improvement upon the manner of his master Van der Weyden. "Hemling,"* says Dr. Kugler,

* Memling is sometimes called also Hemling, as by Dr. Kugler, and sometimes also Memmelinck, but there seems no doubt that the spelling adopted by the authors of the "Early Flemish Painters" is the most correct.

“adopted the mode of conception peculiar to the school of Van Eyck, tinged, however, with greater severity. The features are less lovely, but more earnest; the figures less elegant; the movements less soft; the handling sharper, with greater finish of detail. His grouping is strictly symmetrical, and he confines himself in general to the characters absolutely necessary; whilst, on the other hand, he endeavours to exhaust the history, and often introduces the events which preceded or followed the principal action, in a smaller size in the background. We trace his more serious feeling particularly in the conception and colouring of his landscapes. If, in John van Eyck these shone in the light of spring, in Hemling they glow with the richness of summer; the greens are darker, the meadows more equally tinted, the foliage of the trees more dense, the shadows stronger, the masses of light broader and more tranquil. In other cases, the tone of his landscapes is a clear, uniform, autumnal tint. He is always successful in scenes which require the highest brilliancy of strong lights, as the rising sun; or forcible and singular combinations of colour, as in visions and such like subjects.”

The best collection of Memling's works is still to be found in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges, among which the altar-piece of the Spozalizio occupies a conspicuous place. It depicts the Virgin seated under a porch on a throne decorated with rich tapestry. Two graceful angels hold a crown over her head. On the right St. Katharine in royal apparel kneels at her side; the infant Christ, full of grace and beauty, bends forward and places the bridal ring on her finger, while attendant angels are celebrating the espousals with hymns of joy. St. Barbara, St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist, are also introduced, and in the distance, is a fine landscape background. Another noble picture, belonging to this period of Memling's career, and known as the Clifford altar-piece, is in the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick. The chapel of the Hospital of St. John contains a precious memorial of the genius of Memling in the Reliquary of St. Ursula, a shrine about four feet in length, resembling in appearance the nave of a gothic church; the outer part contains three compartments, each forming a recess, decorated by paintings from the legend of St. Ursula; a picture also adorns each end of the shrine, while three medallions are placed on either side of the mimic roof. These pictures, small as they are, rank amongst the noblest productions of the Flemish school. The drawing is finer than in Memling's larger works; nothing is stiff, awkward, or meagre; all is freedom, power, and ease; the execution, though soft, is telling and masterly, and many of the heads are remarkable for

vivacity and expression. There are two small but very beautiful pictures by Memling in the Louvre—a St. John the Baptist and a Magdalen; and in most of the capitals of Europe, there are paintings by him in private hands. According to Dr. Waagen an altar-piece representing the Annunciation, in the Greveraden chapel of the Cathedral at Lubeck, is the finest work of Memling now in existence. Hans Memling had many imitators, some of whom evinced considerable ability, but their works never, in any instance, attain to the excellence which delights us in the compositions of that great and graceful master.

Many of the later and feebler followers of the school of Bruges travelled through Germany, and into France, Spain, and Portugal, where they obtained patronage and employment, and exercised considerable influence upon the national art of these countries. In the latter part of the fifteenth century, Jan Mabuse painted in England, and in the following century, numerous Flemish painters migrated from Flanders, and devoted themselves chiefly to portrait painting. The earliest and greatest of the Belgian artists did not, therefore, exercise any influence in England; and the manner imported by Mabuse, Cornelis and Lucas de Heere was no longer that of the Van Eycks, but a bastard and feeble style, adulterated by commingling with the various schools of Italy and Germany.

We have thus endeavoured briefly to sketch the history of the early Flemish painters, especially of those belonging to the great central school of Bruges, which exercised so important an influence over European art; and we must refer those who may wish for further information with regard to the lives and labours of these ancient Belgian masters, to the very able and interesting volume which we have placed at the commencement of our remarks.*

* There is one defect, however, in the "Early Flemish Painters," most material in a volume intended to serve as a work of reference; and that is, the very imperfect state of the index appended to it.

ART. II.—THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF IRRIGATION.

1. *Manuale Pratico di Idrodinamica*.—Colombani. 2nd edition. Milano. 1845.
2. *Traité Théorique et Pratique des Irrigations*.—Nadault de Buffon. Paris. 1843.
3. *Irrigation et Assainissement des Terres*.—Manuels-Roret. Paris. 1851.
4. *Bibliothèque Rurale: Manuel d'Irrigation*. Bruxelles. 1850.
5. *Italian Irrigation*.—R. Baird Smith. Blackwood. 1855.
6. *The Cauvery, Kistnah, and Godavery; or, Irrigation in the Madras Provinces*.—R. Baird Smith. Smith, Elder, & Co. 1856.
7. *Traité Pratique de l'Irrigation des Prairies*.—J. Kielhoff. Bruxelles. 1856.

For several reasons, the attention of the technical and scientific world has been recently again directed in a very pointed manner to the subject of irrigation, which seemed a few years since to have so entirely passed from men's minds, in official quarters at least, that one of the late Inspectors of the General Board of Health almost claimed credit for having discovered its value. The first of these reasons for the revived interest to which we allude, was suggested by the successful results of the operations undertaken in our Indian empire for the purpose of restoring the ancient works for the irrigation of Bengal, and of the Madras provinces; and the second has arisen from the necessity for grappling with the daily increasing nuisance of our own town sewerage. The East India Company has dealt with its portion of the question thus brought before the public, with a degree of boldness, skill, and firmness of purpose, and it has also selected its professional advisers with a degree of intelligence, which contrast painfully with the operations of our own Imperial government. Unfortunately, however, the English public has been indisposed hitherto to dwell upon Indian affairs, and far too little attention has been paid to the great operations lately carried on for the internal improvement of that mighty empire. But as it has now become a matter of necessity with us, even as dwellers in towns, to study all the bearings of the science of irrigation, if only for our own sakes, we are compelled occasionally to turn to the country where it has been applied on the grandest scale. Fortunately, the Honourable Company has issued some really valuable papers upon the subject—papers of both a practical and a theoretical

character; and we, therefore, propose to dwell at some length upon them, for the purposes both of reminding our countrymen of what Englishmen have done in the East, and also of obtaining all the reflex light we can upon the general subject of irrigation, which we are convinced is still destined to play an important part in agricultural and sanitary improvement at home and abroad.

It must, however, be understood that we only seek for a *reflex* light from the East, not a direct one, because there are such marked differences between the climatological conditions of our own country and those of India, and also between the whole social polity which prevails in those respective parts of the world, that the lessons the one might furnish can hardly have a direct bearing upon the other. We might, indeed, derive more valuable practical lessons from the irrigation works executed in France, Belgium, Germany, and in the United States; or from the equally important, but, comparatively speaking, unknown water-meadows of Hampshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and Devonshire. Still, the magnitude of the operations lately executed by the East India Company is so extraordinary, and the results they have already produced have been so beneficial to the countless millions of our fellow-subjects in the East, that no excuse would really be wanting for our dwelling in detail upon them, even though it be somewhat to the exclusion of subjects of more immediate and locally practical interest. The various questions connected with hydraulic engineering which have necessarily been discussed during the execution of these gigantic Indian works, and the manner in which technical difficulties have been there encountered and overcome, would render an examination of them more than usually interesting to those who are engaged in similar investigations, whilst a comparison between them and the works executed in other countries must be of service to all who may be concerned in the attempt to apply irrigation elsewhere. Our Australian colonies would particularly gain by the introduction of this system of cultivation upon a large national scale; and it has always been one of our own day-dreams that the convict-labour of this country might be beneficially employed in those regions upon the works required to regulate the discharge of the naturally capricious rivers and water-courses which are now, comparatively speaking, useless. In this article, however, we propose to limit our observations to the history and general principles of irrigation.

Irrigation, like all the generally useful sciences, seems to have had no special origin; or, rather, we should say that it has been applied extensively, and from the remotest antiquity, by

tribes so totally unconnected with each other, that it would be absurd to attempt to trace its original inventors. It was practised to a very great extent in Assyria and in the ancient Persian empire; for even at the present day it is easy to trace the artificial channels by which the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates were made to counteract the effects of the burning heats of those regions. In Egypt, the waters of the Nile were from a very early period made to contribute to the fertility of the sandy districts upon its banks; and the strange mural pictures and papyrus rolls which that extraordinary race have left for our admiration, prove that the Egyptians even raised water artificially, by means of the *fadouf*, as their descendants call the rude engines we allude to, for the purpose of distributing it over portions of the land it could not naturally reach. The Bible does not contain any details upon the system of irrigation used by the inhabitants of Palestine; but there are numerous passages in it from which we may infer that the Israelites were well acquainted with the advantages to be obtained by correcting the effects of their parching summers by the use of water in their agriculture, though it is more than questionable whether they ever attempted anything beyond a rude regulation of the winter inundations of the mountain torrents of their part of Asia Minor. No traces, at least of an authentic nature, exist by which we can discover the actual practice of the Greeks with respect to the use of their water-courses; nor are we in possession of much information upon the subject of the Irrigation adopted by the Romans, although it is said that traces of dams, channels, and water-courses, dating from the earliest periods of the Empire, have been discovered; and there are passages in the "Libri de Re Rustica," and in the "Georgics," which certainly are sufficient to prove that the masters of the ancient world were perfectly aware of the necessity for irrigation in Italy, and were possessed of some system for effecting it upon a very large scale. The Chinese seem to have adopted irrigation as a fundamental part of their system of agriculture at a very early epoch; and in Hindostan, also, it has been applied, rudely and incompletely, no doubt, but still generally, from the most remote periods of the native annals; nor, indeed, could any civilized nation have existed in these regions without some such means of counteracting the effects of their burning climate. Amongst all these nations, however, the works for the distribution of water were of the rudest description, nor can we find any traces of an application of hydraulic science to agricultural purposes worthy of being compared with those to be discovered in the means adopted by the Romans for the supply of water to their town populations.

In the Middle Ages we find that the Visigoths, who had established themselves very firmly in the ancient province of the Septimania, at the foot of the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, devoted much attention to perfecting the irrigation of that district; and that even Alaric II. himself encouraged the execution of works of this description. There is, indeed, at the present day, in the Languedoc, an irrigation canal in existence, which goes by his name, and there does not appear to be any reason for questioning, at least, its execution in the sixth century; whilst several other similar channels are attributed, with equal probability, to the same Gothic tribes which inhabited this district about the seventh and eighth centuries. It is rather curious that irrigation has only prevailed, even in modern Europe as a nationally characteristic mode of cultivation in the countries wherein the Gothic tribes had settled upon the Continent, or in those parts of our own island which were settled by the West Saxons; or, again, in those portions of Southern Europe which were possessed by the Saracenic tribes of the early Mohammedan irruptions; and it might furnish a curious subject for inquiry to the student of the philosophy of history to explain this odd coincidence. But without entering upon it at present, we may remark, that the technical details of the irrigation works of both the Goths and the Arabs were very rude and incomplete; and that although the latter introduced the *norja* and the Persian wheel, and occasionally applied the Archimedean screw for the purpose of raising water artificially for distribution over ground it could not naturally reach, the execution of those machines was very defective, and the mode of forming the conducting, distributing, and measuring channels was of the most primitive description. Their operations, moreover, were always partial, and upon a small scale; nor was it until the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century, that any grand, general irrigation was attempted; but at that period the two greatest artificial canals of Northern Italy, viz., those of the Ticino and of the Adda, were executed. Even at the present day these works excite the admiration of all engineers; and the "fathers of the irrigation canals of modern Europe," as Captain Baird Smith very appropriately calls them, must always be regarded by modern inquirers with feelings of surprise for the boldness of their authors, and of sympathy with their confidence in the inestimable benefits of the operation they undertook with such limited means, and such very imperfect theoretical knowledge. The thirteenth century was indeed a grand period in the history of the Italian race, and the execution of these gigantic irrigation works at the same time that Dante wrote, Cimabue painted, and the Florentines, Pisans, and Genoese fought so furi-

ously, but still so well, may fairly be appealed to as an illustration of the connexion which exists between the development of all the best faculties of our race. At any rate, from the end of the twelfth century a most extraordinary amount of activity was displayed by the inhabitants of Lombardy in the application of their wonderful river-system to the purposes of agriculture; and Captain Smith gives with evident pride and satisfaction a record, which is almost eloquent, of their doings. From his work, we learn that the Canal of the Ticino dates from 1177; the formation of the regulating lakes of Mantua from 1188; the Canal della Bataglia, near Padua, from 1191; the *Diritto d'Aquedotto*, the first recorded attempt at legislation on the subject was enacted about the commencement of the twelfth century; the Canal Muzza, or the new Adda was begun in 1220; the Naviglio Civico of Cremona was formed early in the fourteenth century, and the Canal Martesana is said to have been finished under the direction of the great Leonardo da Vinci, about 1498. This work has a special interest in the eyes of the hydraulic engineer, on account of its presenting the first authenticated application of the system of lock-gates to canal navigation. From the end of the fifteenth century, however, little seems to have been done in Italy, either for the improvement of its irrigation, or for any good purpose, until we arrive at the period when the Piedmontese government had extended its influence, or until the vigorous rule of Napoleon in Northern Italy had roused the nation from the apathy into which it had fallen under the Spanish and Austrian rules. The earlier Piedmontese canals, we may add, date only from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

France does not appear to have done much to extend the irrigation originally introduced by the Visigoths in the Eastern Pyrenees, in the long period between their settlement and the renaissance of the arts, which latter event took place in the sixteenth century, and called the attention of her rulers to the surpassing skill of the Italian engineers of that period. It was not, indeed, until the reign of Henri II., that any new works of the kind we are immediately considering, were established; and under his patronage, Adam de Crapone constructed the canal for the distribution of the waters of the Durance, which bears his name at the present day. Subsequently, other canals were formed in the south of France, near Aix and Marseilles, in the Alps and the Pyrenees, during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries; but the French irrigation works have never been conducted with the same spirit, nor upon the same scale of grandeur and utility, as those of Northern Italy.

In our own country, and in Germany, it is still more dif-

difficult to trace the history of irrigation, for the water-meadows of particular districts are unquestionably of very ancient formation, although their precise date is not known. The only authentic early record of the existence of works of this description in England that we are acquainted with, is the Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1622, authorizing the construction of the Itchin Canal in Hampshire, a useful, but still a very defective work; and although the Commissioners of the late Board of Agriculture collected much information upon the subject of the local practice in this matter, both in England and Scotland, at the end of the last and the commencement of the present centuries, they did not throw any light upon the origin of the different systems of irrigation adopted in the various counties of the south-west of England, or of the system of warping, so long and successfully applied on our eastern shores; and almost the only elaborate irrigation works we can cite in our country are the canals formed by the Duke of Portland, about the commencement of this century, for the purpose of leading the waters of a stream he diverted from a considerable distance, and those executed by the Earl Manvers, at Edminstowe. Perhaps this may be accounted for by the fact, that the recent successful development of the cultivation of green crops in the uplands of England has caused our farmers to treat the system of water-meadows with greater neglect than they have encountered in drier climates. It is worthy of remark, however, that even in Belgium itself, notwithstanding the proverbial dampness of its atmosphere, great works have recently been executed for the general irrigation of the barren wastes of the Campine; and the great success which has attended that operation, if we may believe official reports, may well lead us to inquire whether the nations of North-Western Europe, who pride themselves upon being at the head of modern civilization, have derived all the benefit they could do from their natural water-courses. This remark might also be extended to our American descendants; for we have reason to believe that there have been no attempts made in either North or South America, to introduce a general system of irrigation, though a rude imitation of a very imperfect German mode of distributing water is stated by Mr. Tatham to have existed in the United States, about the end of the last century. It would appear from Sir G. Staunton's work upon China, and from several other descriptions of that singular country, that its inhabitants still continue to devote great attention to this mode of cultivation, and that they have executed several very important canals and aqueducts for the purpose of distributing the water over districts it could not natu-

rally reach; but the descriptions of these works are so vague, and so wanting in anything like technical accuracy, that we are only able to arrive at the general conclusion, that the Chinese, like the Mohammedan conquerors of India, were and are, not only aware of the value of irrigation, but also willing to make great sacrifices in order to secure it.

We have said nothing in the preceding sketch of the history of irrigation, with respect to the works executed by both the Visigothic and the Moorish conquerors of Spain; first, because, with the exception of Jaubert de Passa, no competent authorities have alluded to the systems adopted in that country; and, secondly, because the few records we have of its existence are very vague and unsatisfactory. It would appear, however, that the Arabs introduced into Spain the method of storing the surplus winter's rains in reservoirs, or tanks, as they are called in the East, together with the use of the *noria*, an instrument strangely characteristic of their civilization. Remains of their canals are said to exist in Catalonia, Valencia, and Andalusia, and upon some of them the principle of the syphon has been applied in such a manner as to prove that hydraulic science had made far greater progress amongst the Arabs of the Middle Ages than it had done in Christendom. Of late years, too, in spite of the frequent revolutions which have desolated the country, new works upon the grandest scale are said to have been undertaken, and to have given rise, by their failure, to inundations far more terrible than the catastrophe at Holmfirth, without any definite information on the subject ever reaching our Northern ears. Spain is, indeed, but little better known than the interior of Africa, and certainly its recent irrigation works have quite escaped English notice; just as we have lost sight of her other convulsive attempts at maintaining her position in the forward movement of the age. The same excuse may be urged for the absence of any allusion to the works of the French in Algeria, or to those lately executed in Egypt, or in the other Mohammedan countries in Africa, or even in Asia Minor; for no authentic records of them are to be found, in the works, at least, to which we have been able to procure access. The remainder of our historical illustrations of the practice of irrigation will, therefore, be confined principally to Italy and our own Indian possessions, and derived almost entirely from the works of M. Nadault de Buffon and Captain Baird Smith, cited at the head of this article; but they will be introduced rather for the purpose of describing the principles or the practice adopted in various countries, than with reference to a consecutive history of the arts.

The authors who have discussed the philosophy of irrigation

do not appear to have arrived at unanimous opinions as to the precise nature of the good it produces. Some parties contend that the effect of the water is principally to protect vegetation against frost; others, that it acts principally by furnishing the ammonia and other elements required by the grasses usually cultivated in these meadows; but the balance of opinion is certainly in favour of the latter theory; and, really, the marvellous results attained by a systematic irrigation in climates where frosts are almost unknown, may be considered to have settled the abstract question in favour of the opinion that the great end to be effected is to furnish the elements required for the growth of plants. The relative importance of irrigation in different countries may be also explained on this ground; for, evidently, in the regions wherein the summer rains, which always contain ammonia, supply with tolerable regularity the humidity necessary for the growth of vegetable food, the necessity for an artificial supply must be rarely felt. But in warmer climates, those in which even cereal crops cannot thrive in consequence of the long burning droughts, irrigation becomes almost an imperative necessity; and this, too, not only for grass or garden lands, but even for the whole arable surface. In the milder latitudes, the only crops to which this process is largely applied are, indeed, those known by the name of artificial grasses; there is no imperative reason for this restriction, however, and the rice cultivation of Spain, Italy, and India, prove that the benefits of irrigation may be extended to a much more numerous class of products than our agriculturalists generally believe. The most useful application of the system is still unquestionably, for us at least, to meadow lands; and in addition to the facilities it gives to the production of animal food, it has the indirect recommendation of adding to the quantity of manure disposable for other kinds of cultivation. A certain proportion of water-meadows is, in fact, almost an inevitable condition of a good agricultural working on a large scale, unless the climate and the nature of the soil should allow the place of their grass to be supplied by the growth of roots; both these crops are, however, alike in this respect, that they are principally composed of water, in that peculiar combination with other substances which seems to be the essential condition for the food of herbivorous animals.

The Italian irrigators, and M. Nadault de Buffon after them, dwell much upon the necessity for using large quantities of manure over their water-meadows. "Manure," indeed, says that able observer, "is the condition, *sine quâ non*, of the success of an irrigation;" and in the countries he describes, it would certainly appear that the practice of farmers supports his

view. Mr. B. Smith does not, we think, notice this question of detail, though it is one of considerable theoretical importance, and the experience of Indian irrigation might throw some light upon it; but it is worthy of remark that the German and Belgian authorities upon this subject attach very little importance to such application of manure, and they even quote frequently the proverb, that "water produces grass." Our own agriculturalists do not appear to adopt the Italian doctrine, for they use very little manure upon their water-meadows, whilst they unquestionably allow the water to flow in immense quantities. The fact seems to be, that climate and other local considerations affect this question. Both opinions may be partially true; and their correctness must still more be affected by the quality of the waters themselves; for evidently the action and reaction of the water and the soil must exercise the most important influence upon the plants submitted to them; and it must be impossible to say, absolutely, without a careful previous examination of both soil and water, whether it would or would not be necessary to introduce other elements of vegetable life. More unanimity prevails with respect to the qualities required in an irrigation water, and the following general observations may be taken as representing the opinions most usually entertained upon the subject, both in northern and southern latitudes. Waters which flow from forests, peats, bogs, or those which contain iron or common salt, or those which rise at a low temperature, are considered to be objectionable. The streams which have been for some time exposed to the atmosphere are usually preferred to those flowing from a spring-head, on account of the increased temperature they thus acquire; and they are the more esteemed in proportion as they have flowed through highly cultivated lands, or the seats of town populations, as they thus obtain fertilizing properties of the greatest importance. Granitic or primary formations furnish waters which are of remarkable value for irrigating purposes, especially when the rocks contain felspar in a soluble state, as is the case in some parts of Spain, or of the western Pyrenees, for the potassa thus furnished is of great value as a manure. The waters from limestone districts are said to develop the growth of the *carex*, and of some of the poorer *gramineæ*, when the salts of lime are notably in excess; but it is to be observed that the richest water-meadows in England and in the north of France are precisely those formed upon loamy or argillaceous soils, irrigated by waters holding much carbonate of lime in solution. Generally speaking, the waters from argillo-calcareous rocks, or marls, are tolerably well adapted for irrigation purposes, whilst those flowing from silicious sands, or from

rocks unable to part with any of their salts, are almost always worthless for this purpose; the so-called "soft waters" are known to be of the latter category. It must, however, be observed, that insomuch as we believe that water applied as irrigation acts slightly as a manure, the very properties which might be of value in one place would perhaps be objectionable in another; and the successful results of its application must after all depend mainly upon the nature of the soil upon which it is poured. Even brackish water, at times, is admirably fitted for such purposes, and the eagerness with which cattle devour the grass grown in salt marshes must be considered to prove in its favour. Perhaps, the safest general rule to be laid down in this matter is to say, that when the natural vegetation of a water-course is vigorous and of a good quality, the water may safely be used for irrigation.

This question of the connexion between the qualities of a water and of the plants it nourishes, or, indeed, of its influence upon both the organic and inorganic life it supplies, is one which merits far more attention than it has hitherto received, either in a sanitary or an agricultural point of view. Referring at present only to the latter part of the question it may be worth while to call the attention of inquirers to a passage in Britton and Brayley's "Surrey," in which it is mentioned that the cavalry officers stationed at Guildford during the great wars of the commencement of this century, finally excluded from the barracks hay obtained from the meadows irrigated with soft water, on account of its effects upon their cattle; whilst the influence of certain other waters in the development of that frightful malady, the goître, is too notorious for it to be necessary here to dwell upon it. In the meantime, there seems little reason to doubt the imperfect classification of the qualities of waters, in accordance with the plants they contain, given by M. Deby in his useful little manual; and we, therefore, quote it here, as a rough guide to irrigators, until more elaborate observations shall enable them to correct or extend it. He says, that the best waters are those in which grow the *ranunculus aquatilis*, *potamogeton perfoliatus*, *p. fluitans*, the *myriophyllum*, *nasturtium officinale* (the water-cress, so remarkably fine in our chalk streams), *veronica anagallis*, and *v. beccabunga*. The waters of an inferior quality are those in which are found the *sium latifolium*, *s. angustifolium*, the *arundo*, *rumex*, *cicuta*, *mentha*, *stachys*, *alisma*, *lythrum*, *typhæ*, *scirpa*, *juncus*; and they are very bad when they produce nothing but mosses, or varieties of the *carex*. The *charas* indicates that there is an excess of lime in the water; the *nymphaea*, that the stream has little or no current. These remarks, we would add, are of course only

true for a northern latitude, and they would no doubt require to be modified for warmer climates than those in which M. Deby had made his observations. It were to be desired, therefore, that they should be extended to other countries; and also that more elaborate observations should be made upon the influence of water upon organic life, to which that author does not allude, for there appears to be strong reason for suspecting that the streams which do not contain the fresh-water conchiferae are not adapted to the purposes of irrigation. This, at least, is certain, that the waters of streams in which the *anodon cygneus* and the *mya* occur in great numbers, are always of the quality which is most esteemed in England; whilst the waters of those streams in which no mollusca are found, are very rarely fit to be used. The shells we have named occur in conjunction with the plants M. Deby states to be characteristic of the best waters, and in the streams of the chalk districts especially, which irrigate some of the finest meadows both in England and in France.

It cannot, however, be too often remarked that in all reasoning with respect to the quality of water, climate must be taken into account; for the objects to be effected by an irrigation are, as we said before, almost entirely dependent upon that condition; and, evidently, when water is only required to correct the natural want of moisture in the air, its chemical composition must be of less importance than it is when the water is required to act to some extent as a manure as well as a source of moisture. In India, therefore, there may be no particular reason for attaching importance to the question we have thus alluded to, and perhaps this may account for Captain Baird Smith's neglect of it; yet the extraordinary composition of the water of the Ganges, as they were described by Mr. Piddington in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (1855, p. 283), would induce us to believe that it may have exercised great influence in securing the favourable results Captain Smith states to have attended the great experiment of the Ganges canal. Mr. Piddington, indeed, found that the average total quantity of sediment contained in the measures he experimented upon of a mean capacity of $25\frac{1}{3}$ ounces, was not less than 13.99 grains, of which 6.04 grains consisted of earthy matter, and the remainder 7.95 grains consisted entirely of carbonate of lime; and that the average deposit of silt in the tanks at Calcutta, was not less than $\frac{1}{1536}$ in bulk of water. Evidently, a water of this description must exercise very potent effects in the upper regions over which it is poured; and it would, perhaps, not be an exaggerated view of the case to consider the silt it deposits, of nearly as much value to the delta of

the Ganges as the mud of the Nile is to the delta of Lower Egypt: the Ganges, we suspect, warps as well as irrigates.

Captain Smith has, however, devoted a chapter to the discussion of the sanitary influences of irrigation; a subject which has almost escaped the notice of Nadault de Buffon, and of the other authors we have had the opportunity of consulting. It is true, that in the North of Europe there may be little occasion to dwell upon this source of influence upon public health; but in warmer latitudes the facilities afforded by a plentiful supply of water for the decomposition of vegetable matter may, and often do, produce results of a very seriously marked character. Some descriptions of cultivation, also, in which irrigation plays a conspicuous part, have been found to be dangerous to human life, such, for instance, as the cultivation of rice; and as it seems now to be very probable that we in England will shortly adopt a system of irrigation fed by the sewerage waters of our towns, it behoves us to inquire seriously to what extent the various modes of effecting that object are likely to affect public health. Perhaps a careful investigation of the results of the Edinburgh and of the Itchin water-meadows, might throw some light upon this question, in so far as it is likely to affect our own town populations; but hitherto no such observations, of any value at least, have been made, although the official organs of the General Board of Health have been very active in recommending a system which possibly may, after all, prove to be seriously injurious to the very cause it was instituted to promote. Under any circumstances, however, we ourselves do not hesitate to say, that we consider that the formation of water-meadows in the immediate neighbourhood of towns or large villages is objectionable in England, on account of the additional moisture it must communicate to the atmosphere, and of the great amount of decaying vegetable matter with which such meadows abound, especially in the seasons of the year when the water-courses are cleared out. It would be absurd to fix at present any absolute rule for regulating the distance from towns within which this description of cultivation should be allowed, because the geographical position and the geological structure of any district must exercise variable influences upon both the character and the extent of the assumed evil. Captain Smith quotes the record by a commission appointed by the Sardinian government, of the incessant changes made in the legislation of that country with respect to the growth of rice; but neither he, nor they, seem to have suspected that this apparent uncertainty may have been justified by local circumstances, and that the variations in the legislation may have been called for by the

nature of the particular cases, even upon the supposition that rice-fields were more noxious than any other modes of applying water. It would, however, appear that both in India and in Northern Italy, the best authorities are of opinion that no rice cultivation should be allowed within a zone bounded by a circle of from three to five miles radius; but the results of the most recent inquiries into the sanitary condition of irrigated districts tend to prove that more injury has been caused by the injudicious interference with the natural drainage of the lands adjoining than by the actual emanations from the watered lands themselves. Perhaps, in the present unsatisfactory state of our knowledge of this class of hygienic laws, it would be desirable to adopt the smaller zone in our own country; that is to say, to forbid the formation of water-meadows on a large scale, within three miles of a town or village of any importance; and to assimilate any interference with the natural drainage of other districts to ordinary indictable nuisances.

Neither in England, Northern France, Germany, nor Belgium, is the supply of water in the rivers, at present devoted to irrigation purposes, limited in such a manner as to render it a matter of importance to ascertain the precise consumption at any particular point. In the South of Europe, and, indeed, in any warm country, this, however, ceases to be the case; for the quantity of water flowing down the rivers at times becomes so scanty as to confer upon it a great money-value. We are, it would appear, rapidly arriving at a somewhat analogous state of things here; for the increase of our town populations is so extraordinary, and the consumption of water is assuming such an unexpected development as must, sooner or later, compel even us to measure the proportions devoted to any particular usage. In Italy, however, as might naturally have been expected, this question has long occupied the attention of engineers and public administrators; and both Captain Smith and M. de Buffon, have devoted space and attention to the examination and description of the various methods applied in that country to water-gauges, because the countries to which they proposed to apply the result of their investigations were equally, even if not more interested in the economical application of that fluid which we Englishmen, as a general rule, treat so contemptuously, or at least, so carelessly. If any systematic irrigation were, however, introduced here, it would be, beyond doubt, desirable to adopt the conclusions to which the very able authors we have referred to were led; namely, to render compulsory the application of the best systems adopted in Italy, of gauging the quantities supplied. It seems, also, to be equally demonstrated, that the whole system of legislation,

with respect to water-privileges, recently introduced in the Piedmontese dominions, would be worthy of adoption; as would be also many of the mechanical arrangements of the Piedmontese engineers in the works lately executed in the possessions of their government upon the Continent; for it is to be remarked, that no irrigation, beyond that of some few patches of garden land, has been attempted in the island of Sardinia itself, although nowhere on the face of the globe would such an operation produce equally brilliant results. It is curious, however, that although the Piedmontese law-makers attached deserved importance to the protective distances to be observed between feeders and drains, so as to obviate any danger of the abstraction of water from the former by infiltration through the soil, no attention has been paid to the protective distances within which wells may be sunk. There is, indeed, great uncertainty about the legislation of all civilized countries upon this subject, nor is it easy to suggest a remedy for such a state of things; but it is certain that any enterprising owner who discovers, perhaps at great expense, the existence of a water-bearing stratum, by means of an artesian boring, is exposed to find his supply of water intercepted or diminished by a neighbouring proprietor who acts simply upon the results of his experiments. This is far from being an imaginary danger, as the yield of the original artesian wells at Tours has notably diminished by reason of the number of other wells lately made; and to cite an instance nearer home, the supply of water to the wells fed by the basement beds of the London clay series, has been nearly exhausted by the countless number recently sunk. The omission of the Italian legislators of any reference to this subject is the more extraordinary, because the celebrated *marcite* are frequently supplied by wells, and the Lombard agriculturalists attach an extraordinary degree of importance to the use of such waters on account of their comparatively high temperature in winter. The discussion connected with the nature and dimensions of water-gauges, and with respect to the conditions of the supply of water to wells is, however, reserved to a subsequent article, in which we propose to treat it incidently in connexion with the description of the best works executed in Italy, India, and Belgium.

There is a marked difference in the Italian and English systems of irrigation, to which it may be desirable to call attention before closing these general remarks; and it is one which depends upon the peculiar physical conditions of the two countries. In Italy, the rivers which are fed almost entirely by the melting of the snows of the Alps and Apennines, roll down their greatest volumes of water in the summer and the early autumnal months, or precisely at the period when the sun's

rays exercise the greatest influence. There are, therefore, greater facilities provided by nature for irrigation in these countries at the very period when it is there most required; and the Italian irrigation may, perhaps, be generally described by saying that it takes place principally during the hot season, and that it is principally applied to the grass, maize, and garden crops. In England, however, our rivers are at their lowest state in the months so favourable for the irrigation operations of Italy; and it has been found practically, or at least it is generally believed, that their application to agriculture is of the most service precisely during the cold season. Our irrigation is, in fact, a winter one, and it is exclusively confined to grass lands; or in other words, the system of working water-meadows is as nearly as possible opposite in the two regions. The general practice of the English irrigators is to turn the waters over their meadows in October, after carrying the second crop of hay; to flood them and leave them dry alternately during the winter months, at intervals of about a fortnight each; to increase the dry intervals as the spring advances, whilst the time the water is allowed to remain on the land is diminished; and to turn stock into the meadows about the end of March, or in May, according to the latitude of the particular district. About June or July, the cattle are taken off, and one or more crops of hay are saved; but when cattle are left in the meadows during the summer months, our farmers are particular in observing not to irrigate, for they have found that pouring water over the land at this season develops the rot in the feet of their stock; and, moreover, when the grass is growing for hay, they are also obliged in some cases to refrain from letting on water, because they find that the fine silt deposited on the leaves injures the quality of the grass. The Italian meadows are more particularly devoted to the production of hay, and the precautions with respect to cattle are, therefore, of less importance there than they are in our own case. In both countries, however, everybody connected with the branch of agriculture under consideration attaches as much importance to the removal of the water after it has performed its duty, as they do to its first application; and it may, indeed, be stated that the principal difference between irrigated meadows and marsh lands precisely consists in the power possessed in the former case of regulating the quantity, mode of application, and withdrawal of the water, whilst in the latter it produces its effects for good or evil without control.

We cannot conclude the present article without expressing our sense of obligation to Captain Baird Smith, and to the gentlemen connected with the Board of Public Works in India,

for the manner in which they have removed one reproach to which our scientific and technical literature was formerly liable, Captain Smith's works are, it is true, deficient in the necessary references to the theoretical portions of the subject; but the descriptive and the historical portions are so amusingly and so sensibly written, that they confer an interest upon a subject which is naturally rather unpleasant and repulsive to general readers.

To us, it appears that the history of all irrigation works in India proves that private industry is either powerless to effect any operation of this general character, or that there is no inducement for the investment of private capital in land operations. The state is there forced to do everything of this kind; and as the native Indians have not for centuries had much control over those who represent that political figment, "the state," the prosperity of their agriculture has been left entirely at the mercy of their various conquerors. We English have recently begun to open our eyes to our moral duties in these matters; but as we remarked in a former article (*ECLECTIC REVIEW*, August, 1857, p. 117), it is singular that the very district in which the East India Company has executed the greatest of its irrigation works, is precisely the seat of the worst of the present disturbances.

ART. III.—AMERICAN DEMOCRACY AND SLAVERY.

Letters from the Slave States. By James Stirling. 8vo. London. 1857.

WHAT a day in the history of humanity was that which gave the New World to the Old! What a wealth of nature; what lands to be colonized; how many countless millions of acres spread out for tillage; what breadths of latitude, from arctic snows to tropic heats; what vast expanses of forest, prairie, valley, plain, waiting to reward the husbandman; what lakes and rivers to bear away the precious freight; what wealth beneath the soil; what an affluence of nature and of power,—carrying forth the imagination towards boundless unknown possibilities,—all poured in a single day into the lap of humanity!

Do we figure to our thoughts the founding of the American republic, when population had grown large enough to appreciate the gift?—then, such was the magnificent dower of mate-

rial wealth and promise with which her citizens were intrusted. The world, too, was approaching a new and most remarkable epoch of development; the age of invention and discovery was at hand; a few years were to do the work of centuries in promoting the material advancement of the race. American civilization fell on the era of modern progress. The sons of the new commonwealth were twice gifted; the powers of man through the growth of knowledge had received a vast expansion, whilst a field of boundless extent was spread open for their exercise.

Is this all? Or, had not the world grown wiser, too, and better, with its growing years? Did not the new age stand on the summit of all the centuries of the past? Heir to the experience of the Old World, was not the New World oldest, as Lord Bacon would account it, and most privileged of all? All republics, writes La Harpe, have had their rise in a period of public virtue. The struggle between liberty and the abuse of power is not to be witnessed except in an age of great men. And, assuredly, few periods in the history of human civilization will be regarded by the student of mankind with deeper interest, than that in which the young and vigorous republic of America set out before the world's view, to exhibit new forms of social order and political life, to grapple with the stern difficulties incident to government in whatever land, and to face new perplexities peculiar to its own.

Meanwhile, the Old World looks on, and asks at this day—What is the result? What have we to learn from this grand experiment? Is America a success, or is it not?

Mr. Stirling, the author of the interesting volume before us, answers our last question in the affirmative. America, he thinks—as most would think—is a success; and he points to its material prosperity as a rough, but not untrustworthy, criterion of national excellence. But although a success, Mr. Stirling regards America as only a modified success; and a success, not the fruit of a perfect political system, but the reward of a race, noble, energetic, and virtuous, placed in a land of peculiar promise, blessed with all possible aids, and unencumbered by the burdens which hamper most older civilizations.

The "Letters from the Slave States" which suggest our remarks, contain the reflections of a very observant traveller, who has recently spent eight or nine months in a general tour through the United States of America. In those places, and upon those subjects, of which we all know, or ought to know, as much as he can tell us, Mr. Stirling observes a most judicious silence. Much as we like his companionship, we are truly grateful to Mr. Stirling for the self-sacrifice which suppressed

the letters penned on the familiar ground of the Eastern States. The result is a volume, which from its first page contains matter fitted to interest and to instruct.

That which gives character to the book, however, is, that it is the work of a political economist,—a man of hard, Scotch intellect, full of facts and figures; an ardent lover of free trade and an honest hater of centralization; an unbeliever in whatever will not stand the test of common sense, yet one who claims in his earnest and temperate reasonings on the subject of Slavery, that if “cotton is great, conscience is greater,” and that there are higher ends in human existence than the manufacture of the largest quantity of rum and molasses. When it is a question of right and wrong, we are thankful that our economist throws the rum overboard.

This distinguishing characteristic of their author imparts to these Letters a peculiar freshness as well as value. It is even amusing to observe how variously affected he is by different places, according as the principles of sound political economy are followed or transgressed. He visits Cincinnati; but the vine-clad slopes which border the Ohio painfully suggest to him prohibitory duties; wine-growing is a “picturesque mistake.” On the other hand, the pork-trade of the Queen City is deeply interesting; “pork-curing is nauseous in its details, but it is blessed in its effects.” He travels his thousand miles on the straight air-line of a prairie railroad; but he can never for an instant forget that the iron over which he travels has paid a thirty-per-cent. duty; such antediluvian absurdities in a young nation fill him with astonishment and disgust. The very notion of this folly, he says, stings him like a mosquito every time it crosses his mind. Cuba arouses his indignation and contempt yet more,—groaning under slavery, protection, and a government of mediæval barbarism. “What a world this will be some day,” he exclaims, “when all these villanies and fatuities have been swept away!” But he turns away hopelessly,—“The gods themselves can do nothing against stupidity.” Mindful of the relation between morals and the cost of food, our author quotes the price of beef. “Marriage,” he maintains, “is regulated by the price of grain; virtue rises and falls with wheat; and chastity might be quoted with corn in the *Mark Lane Express*.” From his intercourse with the people of the United States, Mr. Stirling carries away a profound and painful impression of the “apathy and ignorance of the Americans on all economical subjects.” He finds in it an evidence of a national superficiality of thought. “I have not met,” he writes, “half a dozen sound and hearty free-traders in the United States.” The Democrats, who affect free-trade principles in their public

policy, he has found "in private, not one whit better informed or more zealous than their opponents."

We like the distinctive individuality thus impressed upon the book. On other topics, or in matters of detail, Mr. Stirling is occasionally misinformed, as when he speaks of unhealthiness as an almost universal characteristic of the Western prairies. At times also he misjudges, as in some of his inferences connected with the agricultural and other relations of the West. But, for that which makes up the bulk of the volume,—his calm reflections on the social and political institutions of the States, his reasonings on economical science, his quiet philosophy thrown into language full of freshness and vigour, we feel bound to express to Mr. Stirling our sincere obligations.

Whilst reflecting on the topics discussed in this volume, we have often been reminded of Montesquieu's remark, that public virtue is essential to a democracy. By the virtue of its citizens, and by nothing else, can a democracy sustain itself as a system answering the ends of government. The Americans are conscious of this; hence their constant assertion that universal education is essential to their political system—that system being one which gives an universal extension to political power. But education, if it reach the intellect alone, will not achieve the end required. America has flourished—we agree with our author—because there has been worth and wisdom in her people. She owes her prosperity, not to her institutions, except in so far as these institutions have been the expression of true civil and intellectual freedom, but to the virtue, and industry, and self-rule, and love of order, which have distinguished her population. She has yet a struggle—a severe struggle before her; and the day of victory will be that in which the pest of bad institutions and the corruptions of public life shall have been swept away before the tide of public opinion, springing forth from private virtue too pure to subsist in any defiling contact.

Whilst a warm admirer of whatever is great and good in America, and an impartial reasoner upon most of her important public questions, it is not unnatural that Mr. Stirling appears in this book somewhat prominently as a censor of evils connected with her social and political life. Let none misinterpret this, or misjudge the spirit of our own remarks on the same important subjects. It comes of no ill-will, but of affectionate sympathy for the momentous strivings of a noble people. In the course of his Letters, however, as the topics were suggested by the men and things around him, Mr. Stirling comes to treat, in his fresh, effective way, of many of the weightiest questions which now challenge the attention of the wise and good in America. With

much vigour he sets himself to expose some of the popular fallacies on public questions, which find acceptance with the American mind; he levels giant blows at the special blunder and folly of protection; he deals faithfully and earnestly with the evils and dangers which menace the country from a pseudo-democracy; and last, but weightiest question of the whole, he addresses himself to slavery, America's heaviest burden and most threatening danger; and basing his earnest reasonings on sound ethics, in union with sound politics, yet attempering zeal with tender sympathy, he reaches the conclusion that American slavery and American civilization can no longer exist together; they have already closed in deadly conflict, and sooner or later the one or the other must be destroyed.

Of the minor popular fallacies casually adverted to, in the course of Mr. Stirling's Letters, we can only point with utmost brevity to one or two, although we would not willingly under-rate their importance. Amongst these a prominent one is the weakness which attaches an undue value to the expansion of territory. A very vivacious imagination and ignorance of political economy, Mr. Stirling conceives to be at the root of this pernicious error:—

"It is true," he says, "as the Americans are fond of telling us, that all England might be drowned in one of their lakes, but does that fact afford even an approximate measure of the comparative greatness of the two nations, in a material, not to say spiritual, point of view? Have not all great nations been, at first at least, small ones? Mere bulk is as little a test of strength in countries as in individual men. Nay, I am inclined to think that the extent of territory in the Northern States is a source of positive weakness rather than of strength. Concentration, not extension, is what America wants. The New England States contain only 65,038 square miles of the worst soil on the continent; and yet how large a proportion is theirs of the industrial, financial, political, and intellectual greatness of the people of the United States? Let the Americans look to New England as well as to Old England, and learn there the real source of national greatness."—Pp. 97, 98.

This lust of territory, which our author regards as one of the greatest evils of American civilization, exhibits its baleful fruit in the willing acceptance of a doctrine such as that of "manifest destiny," and the ready acquiescence of so large a portion of the South in the crimes of the filibusterer. "It is Satanic work," writes Mr. Stirling, making reference to the inflammatory appeals of Caleb Cushing, "to lull the conscience and kindle the ambitions of this fiery people. . . . The function of this Union is the ennoblement, not the subjugation, of America."

The usury laws obtaining in some of the States, may look in vain for tender treatment at the hands of so stern a political economist as Mr. Stirling. "The folly is so transparent," he wonders "how men can be so besotted." The liquor laws in force in other States give occasion to further strictures on the unsoundness of seeking to legislate morals, and of making law deal, not with crime, but with sin. The currency also comes in for its share of criticism, and leads to the exposure of further fallacies connected with the sphere of legislation.

The protective system of the United States is, however, the chief evidence, in the eyes of our stern free-trader, of the utter political doltishness of the American people, and of American legislators. From the hour of his arrival till that of his departure, the idea haunts him, that he is treading on ground burdened by one of the most antiquated and stupid policies ever invented by man. He is annoyed that such a "remnant of barbarism" should be tolerated; he questions the claim to enlightenment of a nation which can foster such a "semi-barbarous policy." A young nation, unencumbered by superannuated institutions, or traditionary prejudices, having no old monopolies to bolster up, and no vested interests to conciliate, Mr. Stirling rightly judges to be without excuse in its astonishing adherence to the exploded system of protection. "Yet," he says, "if there is a country on earth where free-trade should find acceptance, it is here." Judged by the maxims of political economy, a protective policy is peculiarly burdensome in a country like America. There, labour and capital need especially to be husbanded, whilst the fields for industrial enterprise are boundless. Everything, therefore, should be avoided which tends to clog industry, or to divert it from its natural and most profitable employment; everything, also, which absorbs capital in profitless enterprises.

But beyond the economical error involved, Mr. Stirling well shows that protectionism has been a fruitful source of political evils in the United States. It has "created jealousies and heart-burnings between the different sections of the country." It has "fostered corruption, the reproach and bane of American administration." And it has called into existence, in place of a large and valuable yeomanry, "the mobs of New York, Philadelphia, and all the other manufacturing districts, which now make every reasoning American tremble for the future of his country." "In England, our proletarian mobs have no political franchise; they are counterbalanced by a powerful middle class, and their excesses are checked by a strong police organization. Here the mob is master; and no wise statesman would wish to

increase the power of such a master." Protection in America, therefore, is not alone a loss; it is a danger.

"Mob is master." These are words which lead us to another and a most important class of political fallacies, which Mr. Stirling, as an intelligent observer, cannot avoid commenting upon in different parts of his volume. At the bottom of that pseudo-democracy, which is so menacing an element in the political institutions of America, there lies, we are convinced, a large amount of false reasoning on the subjects of liberty, of equality, of the right rule and limitations of popular sovereignty, of that which constitutes the people, and on other questions of a kindred nature. With a limitation as to colour, the fundamental axioms of the Declaration of Independence unquestionably embody the popular sentiment of the American people, namely, that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." But what is true equality? What is liberty? How are men's inalienable rights to be guarded and secured? The popular notion in America is, that every white adult male should possess a vote,—a vote for the presidency, a vote for senate and house of representatives, a vote for the legislature of his state, a vote for the magistracy, a vote for every office, high and low, which can be consigned to popular suffrage; and this rigid equality at the ballot-box is regarded as the true theory of government, and is supposed to secure the liberty and equality, as it does the sovereignty, of the people. It yet remains, however, to be proved, whether to be under the will of a numerical majority is a security for a people's liberties. A despotism from below, as Mr. Stirling remarks, is no whit better than a despotism from above. True public liberty is not, as the American mind is too apt to regard it, incompatible with restraint on the individual; rather, "law is the essential condition of liberty." Equality is not incompatible with distinction, notwithstanding the exaggerated and false notions of it, which represent service as a degradation, and compel the American people all to ride in one railway-car, and to sit at one table; notwithstanding also the absurd caricature of it, which led Henry Ward Beecher, in a lecture on Patriotism, to thank God for having deprived America in the present generation of great men such as adorned the history of the past, because the existence of such men imperils the intellectual equality of a true democracy!*

* Is there not too much reason to fear that this levelling of the intellect has gone on too much apace under the influence of a pernicious

The truth is that, as our author hints, straining after an outward material equality, the American democrat reaches little more than an artificial monotony of condition, a gross similitude of material circumstances. Yet a similitude against which there is a constant striving; witness the ceaseless race for social distinction, the passion for rank and position, the enormous efforts at distinction through expenditure, display, extravagance of whatever kind, and the general fear lest, whilst everybody proclaims that all men are equal, any one should believe they really are equal. "The truth of it is," writes our author, "that there is no equality in America, except as to the elective franchise; and that is, perhaps, the worst equality they could have."

We wish we could read in the ears of all the ultra-democracy of America the wise sayings of Montesquieu.* "The principle of democracy grows corrupt, not only when the spirit of equality is lost, but also when that of an extreme equality is assumed, and each person seeks to be the equal of those who have been chosen by him to positions of authority. Then the people, becoming impatient even of the power of which they are themselves the source, wish to do everything themselves,—to deliberate in place of the senate, to execute for the magistrates, and to exchange places with the judges." "Democracy has two extremes to avoid; the first, that of the want of equality, which leads on to aristocratic rule; the second, that of an excessive equality, which commonly terminates in despotism. The true spirit of equality is as far removed from this extreme equality, as heaven is from earth." "Political liberty does not consist in doing whatsoever one may wish. In a state, that is, in a society having laws, liberty can only consist in being free to do that which it is right to wish, and in not being compelled to do that which ought not to be wished." Liberty is not opposed to law, but should rest upon it; and liberty itself is infringed, if the citizen has power to transgress the law. Clearly so; because, as the author of the "*Esprit des Lois*" says, "every one would be free to do the same, and liberty would cease." "*Omnes legum servi sumus, ut liberi esse possimus.*" Grant a nation

form of democracy? The disappearance of great men in America is a fact only too patent to all. And notwithstanding the freedom of speech and of the press, there is too much truth in Mr. Stirling's remarks: "The uneducated or half-educated multitude is predominant, and their no-thought gives the tone to the general mind. No man dares to think for himself. To differ from the popular opinion is treason to the popular power. Men think in masses; and the sophistry of the day is the universal rule for the national mind. Under democracies, intelligence is wide-spread, but superficial; there is diffusion, but not depth."

* *L'Esprit des Lois*. Books viii. and xi.

wise and just laws, and Cicero's axiom will be found to embody the only true liberty that can be conceived in a state.

That the fallacious views entertained by so large a number in America, as to the functions of the people in a democracy, are a fruitful source of political and social evil, no dispassionate observer can doubt. The worst feature in the case is, that it is a growing, and a rapidly growing, evil. Political corruption, despotism from below, mob-rule, terrorism, crime, are so many forms in which the menacing danger finds shape. Briefly, but pointedly, we must advert to each of these developments of this many-sided evil.

Would we speak, first, of political corruption? The government of the United States—federal, state, and municipal—is immersed in it. So apparent is this fact, that the most lying defenders of the country now scarcely venture to deny its truth; whilst the nobler and purer amongst her sons will not soil themselves by contact with politics—often will not record their vote. “America is not ruled by her noblest men. The American ballot-box riddles away the gold, and retains the dirt.” Happily, she has better men than her politicians.

Do we speak of despotism from below? Let us listen to Mr. Stirling:—

“The populace is the source of all authority, and those only can arrive at power who are willing to propitiate the populace even at the expense of principle. Hence a race of trading politicians, who live by pandering to popular whim and prejudice, while men who respect themselves, and insist on the luxury of ‘keeping a conscience,’ are, as a rule, shut out from all participation in public affairs. A politician here, as my informant said, is more thoroughly tongue-tied than in the most despotic state of Europe. He dare not, for his life, express an opinion hostile to that of his constituents. The first moment of his independence would be the last of his power.”

Is proof needed of mob-rule? Let us remember that, in obedience to the principles of this so-called democracy, year by year, the authority of the government has been undermined in favour of the “sovereign people,” until now it can protect for its lord neither his life nor his property. “Every important office, even the sacred one of judge, has now become subjected to the fitful fancies of a vulgar crowd.”

Is evidence asked of terrorism and crime? Let us call to mind the dark deeds of Kansas; let us remember the complete subjection of judicial power in that territory to the demands of the tyrant faction which enjoyed the political ascendancy. Or, is Kansas too remote? Let us read Mr. Stirling's testimony concerning New Orleans, founded on the report of the Attorney-General for

Louisiana. Crime is there represented as the ruling element in New Orleans, and illustration is given in the number of homicides pending before the first district court at the date of the report, which amounted to not less than 85 out of a population of only 116,375. The same proportion would give London from eighteen to nineteen hundred simultaneously waiting to answer a charge of death! Yet the number of cases brought before justice furnishes, according to the same high authority, no criterion of the extent of crime. The criminal, he states, too commonly, goes unpunished, because to lodge a complaint is to take the risk of assassination. The whole municipal administration is in the hands of a certain political party; that party rules the polling-booths, and secures in the magistracy those who are devoted to its interests, and will wink at its enormities.* The "Thugs" of New Orleans are in their service,—that name being the designation of a body of men who nightly and daily assail innocent inhabitants, and especially foreigners living in New Orleans. Quiet, order-loving residents, finding no support from the law, have been compelled to threaten the organization of a committee of vigilance. The Attorney-General suggests the likelihood, and vindicates the right when law fails, of a resort to summary justice, in other words, lynch-law,—a justice which, he hints, may not only be administered against the unpunished criminals, but also against the unpunishing representatives of the law who occupy the magisterial bench.

Lastly, let it not be supposed that these evils of political corruption, mob-rule, terrorism, and crime, are confined to the more remote sections of the Union, or to such essentially southern cities as New Orleans. Had we the desire, we could easily display to view such a picture of debased rule in the Empire City itself—of crime in the low, and corruption in the high places of that city, as would make thoughtful men shudder for the future of the people. It is as true of New York as it is of New Orleans, that the tax-paying portion of the community is in complete subjection to the tax-levying portion, namely, "the penniless multitude laying on the tax, the powerless few paying it;" equally true, that those who most support the city have the least agency in directing public opinion, and in controlling public affairs; that the magistrates are not instruments

* Mr. Stirling illustrates this control of the polling-booths, and at the same time exhibits the tactics followed by free and independent voters. He says: "During the late election, this organized body prevented all free voting, except at one polling-booth, where a dozen bold young men of the opposite party marched up, with a pistol in each hand, and threatened to shoot down the first man who should obstruct a voter."

for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well; that the criminal is in many respects a freer man than the upright citizen; that a pure and honourable character is the worst qualification for the aspirant after the control of municipal affairs; and that every election of whatever kind, is a fresh holiday of corruption, and presents a fresh evidence of the danger of placing the chief power in the hands of a rabble mob.

Are we not reminded of the *Convivium* of Xenophon? Charmides was the classic interpreter of a hundred thousand who now crowd the streets of the chief city of the new republic, when he spoke the praises of poverty: "When I was rich, I was in continual fear. I was forced to keep in fee a swarm of retainers, who always had it in their power to injure me, whilst I had no means of retaliating. I had to pay taxes, and to discharge public offices at my own expense; neither could I avoid this by removal. But, now that my estate is gone, and I am reduced to poverty, I sleep wonderfully sound, and stretch upon my bed as one fearless of officers. The government is no longer jealous of me; thieves cause me no terror; but others are now afraid of *me*! What is freedom, if this is not? Besides, rich men now respect me; they rise to yield me the chair, or move aside in walking to give me the wall. Formerly, I was a complete slave; now I am a king. I then paid tribute to the republic; now, the republic pays tribute to me, for it supports me. Finally, when I had my estates, they were always being reduced; now that they are gone, I am without fears, for I have nought to lose. I cannot but hope, for gain is the only casualty that can happen to me."

We have strong faith that the corrupt conditions we have described will not long continue to reproach the vaunted self-government of America. The rule of ochlocracy cannot last long. They are but the growth of recent years,—the fruit of principles of government very widely differing from those professed by the founders of the Republic. It has been America's misfortune that her people have unconsciously changed their views of the functions of a democracy, and the right relations of the government and the people. In the meantime, the name remains unchanged, and the people are deluded with the belief that they are still walking in the faith of their fathers. The illustrious Washington, "first in war, first in peace," is still "first also in the hearts of his countrymen;" but could the great man rise from the grave, he would be filled with consternation at the new principles actuating the public mind, and embodied in the public rule, and would be still more startled to observe these new principles finding shelter beneath his own

name. Every year, however, makes the growing evil more apparent. Every year adds to the number of that cultivated conservative class—"the sheet-anchor of the nation," as Mr. Stirling says—which is growing up beneath the crass democracy which overshadows the land. There is a latent force of worth and wisdom among the people, chaotic it may be as yet, and little influencing public affairs, but which is every day gathering strength, and which will not permit the ship of state wholly to drift away under its present faithless guides. The English traveller is probably better able than the native of the States to estimate the increasing number of that portion of the population which recognises the dangers of the present rule, and waits and hopes for the dawning of a brighter day. Such sentiments are less frequently disclosed in American society; but the Englishman, as he mixes with the more intelligent and large-minded of the people, becomes as familiar with the story of democratic oppression, as in his intercourse with the wise and good on the continent of Europe, he becomes familiar with that of the tyranny of absolute power. It matters less to know in what way deliverance may come. For ourselves, we believe the change will be a peaceful one, the evils of existing politics yielding before the weight of enlightenment and virtue. It may be sufficient to know that the germ of hope is there, in the solid worth of this growing class, who are wiser than their counsellors, and better than their rulers. Their voice may seldom as yet be heard in public affairs. But those who have faith in the just and the true will scarcely doubt the ultimate triumph of their testimony, although for the present almost a silent one. And, in the hour of their country's need, when hands for high achievement may be wanted, whether to overthrow oppression or to lay afresh the foundations of order and peace, these true patriots will not be wanting to redeem their country's name.

We are brought to the last topic we had proposed for ourselves in commenting upon the burdens under which America labours,—that of slavery; and we regret, in justice to the subject, as well as to Mr. Stirling's admirable remarks upon it, that we must reduce our observations within the narrowest limits.

Of slavery, it is little to say that it is America's sorest plague and heaviest burden, her direst calamity and the most serious stumbling-block to her advancement. The South, we know, will rebut our charge *de fond en comble*. Her darling institution cannot be a plague to society; the institution to which Britain owes three-fourths of her cotton, and America so large a portion of her wealth, cannot be pronounced a calamity, or regarded as an obstacle to a country's progress. Here, then, we are dis-

tinctly at issue. Briefly let us examine the main points of variance between a North-side and a South-side view of slavery.

The Southerner starts the argument by pointing to the smiling faces of his negroes, and insisting that they are the happiest creatures in the world. Freed from anxiety about work and wages, provided for in sickness and in age, commonly well fed and cared for, leading more frequently an indolent than a laborious life,—the slave-owner asks, what more enviable lot could be desired, and would fain terminate all discussion by the few short words, "They are happier than their master."

Now, so many occasions has the master in many instances for unhappiness, so perverse also is human nature, and so much, we might add, is contentment the natural characteristic of the negro race, that the assumption may not unfrequently be verified in fact. But side by side with this admission, we must in justice place the instances in which the master is not actuated by humane feelings, together with the insecurity as to the future, which is of necessity associated with the most favoured present. Mr. Stirling had been but a few days on slave soil, when, having passed the night at a roadside inn, he learned, after starting on his journey, that one of the female servants, "a tall, melancholy-looking mulatto girl, was to be flogged as soon as we went off, because our breakfast had been somewhat late." Were any good purpose served, we could fill our sheet with narratives of barbarity that have come under our own observation. These may be all "exceptional cases," as the defenders of slavery ever assure us; but we object to a system which covers so many of these unhappy exceptions. Brutality is doubtless less frequent among American slave-owners than in former times. But our opinion of slavery is not to be determined by a balancing of the number of St. Clairs, as set off against that of the Legrees. We object wholly to a system in which the lot of an immense population is absolutely dependent on the less or more of humanity in those who claim them as their property; and in which happiness or misery, even life or death, are left at the uncontrolled caprice of a few individuals. The system is not right, which makes room for these only too frequent exceptions. And if the whipping to death of a slave by his master is to be described as an "exceptional case," we want to know, with Mr. Stirling, why we never have an "exceptional case" of a slave-owner hanged for such a bloody outrage?

But, once for all, we would say, the question of material happiness is not that which can determine the right or the wrong of slavery. We yield too much when we argue the question

of slavery on such grounds. It is possible that man has higher ends to live for than mere physical enjoyment. Were all true that the defender of slavery says concerning the wretchedness of our labouring population, and the frightful sufferings incident to the competition of free labour, we should still glory in freedom as preserving to man the true dignity of his being, and should deprecate an easy, indolent slavery, as robbing man of that discipline of toil which Providence has imposed upon him for the ennoblement of his nature, and the attainment of the high ends of his existence. Again, were all planters' stories true, and were the slave as "happy" as they would have us to believe, we should feel that the first step had not been made good towards vindicating the justice or excellence of the system; on the contrary, we should feel with Mr. Stirling, that "such a consummation were the supremest evidence of its accursedness."

"If slavery," he writes, "could really so brutalize men's minds as to make them hug their chains, and glory in degradation, it would be, in my eyes, doubly cursed. But it is not so; the slaves are *not* 'happy,' and I thank God for it. There is manhood enough left in them to make them at least unhappy. Therefore, there is hope for them. What would the worm be that could not even turn? I hold that man is 'an end unto himself,' and that to use him as a 'brute means' to the ends of other men, is to outrage the laws of God. This is to me the 'Law and the Prophets,' in the matter of human liberty; and I disdain to enter into any huckstering, pettifogging calculations of 'happiness.' I take my stand far above the atmosphere of happiness or unhappiness, when I argue the question as a matter of right and wrong."

Much after the same manner would we deal with the second most frequent argument of the slave-holder. He asserts that slavery is indispensable; if an evil, a necessary evil; that the world must have its sugar, and rice, and cotton; and that slave-culture is absolutely essential to the production of these necessities. Nay, the South presses home the argument, insisting against the North, that were the Southern cotton-fields to be swept away, Northern industry would cease to find a market; and venturing even to say of England, in a spirit of gentle exaggeration, that it is as dependent in the second stage on the maintenance of slave labour, as itself is dependent in the first. This argument again is to be doubly met:—

First, it is false in point of fact. The expression, so often heard in the South, to the effect that "cotton is king," conveys a gross exaggeration as to the relative importance of cotton as a product of the United States. Mr. Stirling takes the census of

1850, and shows that during the preceding year the cotton crop only reached $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the aggregate value of the agricultural products of the States; that the value of the Indian corn produced was three times that of the cotton; and that even the ignoble hay crop had, within a small fraction, as much claim to be designated the pillar of American greatness as the boasted cotton crop of the South. But again, it is false to represent slave culture as essential to the production of cotton. Mr. Olmsted, in his interesting volume on Texas, has given us ample evidence of the availability of free labour in the cultivation of cotton; the quality of that raised by the free German population of that state being even superior to that produced by slave labour. The argument utterly fails where it is attempted to establish any indispensable connexion between cotton and slavery.

But we revert to our second mode of meeting the argument, and would say that it is at least doubtful whether the production of cotton is the chief end of man. "No expediency can justify an unrighteousness," says Mr. Stirling. "Cotton is great, but conscience is greater," he reiterates. Emancipation may have seriously diminished the amount of sugar and rum produced in Jamaica; but, although it had been ruinous as an industrial measure, the ethics of the question would be in no wise affected; and "no ruin, even though the British Empire had fallen with Jamaica, could cloud the glory of that great act of national justice." For ourselves, we are convinced that, were an act of emancipation to be passed in the island of Cuba, less sugar would be produced; the slaves would not be so overwrought, and the planters would not be so rich. But we have yet to learn that the measure of production of sugar and molasses is the criterion of the righteousness of an institution. It may not be a Divine end, that a few score of planters should be enriched by the sufferings of thousands of their fellow-men. There are other gains besides money gains. The planters themselves might be richer, because better men, with less sugar in their fields; and their consciences might gain what their pockets lost, if the soil of their island were less often reddened with the blood of their slaves.

We are not contented, however, to meet the arguments by which slavery is defended. We would desire to convince its advocates that on political, social, and economical grounds, their system is a positive and most weighty burden—a gross error of which they themselves have to bear the consequences—an incalculable obstruction to their country's advancement. In this we say nothing of it as a mighty wrong, a tyranny over a whole race; into the argument concerning which no suggestions

of expediency can ever be admitted. Few in the Southern States will consent to rest the argument on moral grounds. They are satisfied that their clergy and professors of moral philosophy have written large volumes to prove that slavery is no sin, but contrariwise a blessing to the subject race; and when we look into these volumes, we find we have to lay afresh the first principles of ethics, before we can come to an agreement with their authors. But we may gain a hearing, if we can prove to the people of the South that their institution is a wrong to themselves; that it is not their gain, but their misfortune; and that, could they rid themselves of the system, they would free their country of one of its most oppressive burdens. We candidly confess that we have more hope of this argument having weight with the bulk of the upholders of slavery, than any appeal, either to their philanthropy or to their moral convictions. Slave-owners are sick of hearing of the wrongs of the blacks; but we think we can already discern a disposition among a large and increasing class of them, to consider whether the white race is not suffering under a very grievous oppression, and we will most gladly aid them in the perception of their own wrongs, if haply we may thus hasten the emancipation both of bondsman and oppressor.

In these pages we can but indicate in brief outline a few of the grounds on which slavery may be demonstrated as a calamity to the white population that upholds it. And of these we would first beg attention to its pernicious influence as affecting the *social* relations of the people. We know that the South has much to say of the refining tendency of their favourite institution, and they contrast with much satisfaction the high-breeding of their generous, open-hearted planters, with the "look-out-for-yourself" of the Northern Yankee. But who are these Southern gentlemen? A few hundred thousand individuals at the utmost, descendants in great part of our old cavaliers, who by wealth, station, and influence, occupy the most elevated position in the social state, and between whom and the million beneath them there is little intercourse and less community. Does it prove much to say that this elect aristocracy consists for the most part of gentlemen? Our own wonder has been, that as respects refinement and cultivation the "upper ten thousand" of the South have so little to show for all their advantages. But, on the other hand, if we regard the mass of the people in the Southern states, a more uncultivated, ignoble, and ill-conditioned population it would be hard to find. We are ashamed that the Anglo-Saxon race should have sunk so low. Their own Jefferson said of slavery, that "the man must be a prodigy

who can retain his manners and morals undepraved" whilst living in the midst of such a system. And were slavery to be judged by the social conditions to which it gives rise, no admirer of true civilization could give it his approval.

Another great social evil resulting from slavery, is the absence of that liberty and equality, of which America is so proud. We are not here referring to the coloured race, to whom, by the nature of slavery, these privileges are denied; but to the white population of the South, amongst whom freedom of thought and speech are unknown, and equality in all the relations in which it is to be desired, is vainly affected. Mr. Stirling is right when he says, that in politics there is no toleration in the South. "It is a sheer, downright despotism, without liberty of thought or speech." Whilst the well-educated are kind and hospitable, he finds the "lower set of people morose and suspicious. They dog your steps, and watch your every word. I had to endure more espionage on the Mississippi than in Austrian Italy. There you have to do only with paid professional spies; here your fellow-traveller is your spy." Again, "the South is a downright oligarchy." The populous mass must think as the planters think, and are in effect their veriest vassals. Besides a pervading aristocratic feeling, there is, as Mr. Stirling remarks, a very anti-democratic inequality of fortune. "A fraction of the population monopolizes the principal property of the community. The politics of the country are quite in keeping with this state of matters. The South is ruled by its leaders; the poor of the community, the 'white trash,' go with their lords."

For our own part, did we wish to infuse social discomfort into any country, we would ask nothing more than that which the Southern States so painfully possess, namely, a forbidden subject. There is a subject on which you may not speak, yet may not be silent. Speaking, you may not differ; and being silent, you may not seem to act from a courteous indulgence. Acquiescing, you are not believed; and differing, you are deemed to commit a wrong. You hold your own opinion, and you are adjudged, not as erring in judgment, but as one guilty of an injury. There is a skeleton in the house; woe betide you, if you allude to it. Yet your host knows whither your thoughts are running; your silence is more painful to him than speech.

And truly we do not wonder, also, that suspicion and dread so largely occupy the slave-holder's mind. All around him is danger—a danger which grows more imminent with every year's growing intelligence and desire for freedom. Mr. Stirling passed through the south-western States at the time of the insurrectionary outbreaks which occurred in Tennessee and

adjoining States, after the agitation of the late Presidential election. We all remember how many scores were hung, or burnt, or whipped to death, for supposed participation in the attempt. Our author gives evidence, which, had we space, we would have gladly quoted, of the alarming extent of country over which this movement was organized, spreading not merely over the northern Slave States, but reaching through the south as far east as Florida, and as far west as Texas. The South sits upon a volcano. But it proposes to itself no other remedy than increased severity. With every insurrection, the chain is locked the tighter. But compression, as Mr. Stirling says, only increases the explosive force of disaffection. "When it comes to nailing down the safety-valve, it is a bad look-out for all concerned. Terrorism does not pacify a people. It only changes complaint into conspiracy. Can the South exist with its whole labouring population in a state of chronic insurrection? Can a community of six millions afford to have four millions of conspirators in its bosom? Curfew laws, passes, increased police, 'mounted patrols'—all will not avail so long as the generating cause of discontent exists. The only way to extinguish slave disaffection is, to extinguish slavery."

We have sought to show that slavery is a grievous social calamity. It is no less a *political* misfortune. We have omitted reference to some of the important social evils connected with the system, and especially to that greatest of all, which may be inferred from the fact, that of the domestic slaves a majority already are mulatto. The gentlest blood of Virginia, it is said, flows in the veins of the slaves. Did the American law define the child's condition to be that of the father, in place of the mother, we should have a wholesale emancipation. But we have passed this subject, and shall be compelled to treat with equal brevity the political evils which spring from the existence of slavery. We would only remind our readers that it is a most disastrous thing to have a controversy like that which now exists between North and South, raging through the country, pervading all politics, interfering with all public questions, and preventing the peaceful prosecution of the great ends of government. We would point to the whole history of what is called the Democratic party in America, and ask if it is well that the interest of a few thousand men should possess in a government a power so preponderating, that it rules all public affairs, fills almost all public offices, and shapes after its own manner all public policy. Lastly, we would suggest only the thought of disunion, the terror of every true-born American, and ask whether an institution is to be fostered which makes the dreaded incubus a possibility, and if mutual jealousy and hatred are so

to be accounted, makes a disunion between North and South already morally accomplished.

We come now to the pernicious *economical* results of slavery, a subject which we would have desired to dwell upon more at large, from our conviction that it will operate more speedily than any other to bring about a change of sentiment in the slave-holders of the South. We believe their conscience to be most easily affected through the medium of their pockets. Were they thoroughly convinced that slavery is a pecuniary loss, and that emancipation would be a pecuniary gain, we believe their whole moral philosophy, biblical interpretation, and, better still, their practical conduct, would be changed to-morrow. New England itself would not be able to show abolitionists more rabid than would then be seen in the cities of Richmond, Charleston, and New Orleans. The whole face of the South would be changed in a day.

Yet it is not difficult to show that slavery is a loss. Few question it. M. de Tocqueville, years ago, insisted on the visible contrast between the northern and southern banks of the Ohio, as to the condition of the agriculture, and the whole evidences of material prosperity. Every traveller repeats the observation. Let any Northern and Southern state be compared together: in the one there is every mark of progress, enterprise, industry, prosperity; in the other, stagnation, poverty, barbarism, meet the eye at every turn. The two portions of the Union started fairly in the beginning of their history. The South had the advantage of a richer soil and more favourable climate. Yet, as the public census returns show, the density of population in the South has reached little more than one-half of that now attained in the North. The Free States have improved one-half more of their lands, and their industry has made the average value of those lands more than three times that of the richer lands cultivated by slavery. The value of the entire production of the Free States is sixty per cent. greater in proportion to the population than that of the Slave States. The public enterprise of the North, measuring it by its railways and canals, is more than double that of the South; whilst, if we touch on a subject so delicate as education, we are constrained to accept the figures of the census, and to say that amongst the native white population the number returned as devoid of education in the Slave States is nearly as four to one when compared with the number in the Free. All these facts, which are but the statistical form of that which strikes the eye of every traveller, are so many evidences that the material progress—and that which is of higher value than material progress—of the Slave States cannot

compete with that of the Free States. We would go much further than Mr. Stirling does in estimating the de-civilizing influence of slavery. But his sober testimony is more than sufficient. No thoughtful Southerner will dispute the fact, that throughout the vast extent of the Union, wherever slavery exists, the land is less cultivated, enterprise is more restricted, the wealth of the community is more limited in the ratio of its increase, and civilization is less advanced, than in the portions of the country cultivated by free labour. Slavery is distinctly a loss.

It is less easy to show that emancipation would be a gain. The enormous sacrifice connected with the surrender of slave property always stands in the way of the slave-owner, and is held forth as an insuperable barrier to any possible scheme of emancipation. Yet it were an easy thing to show that, were a system of free labour (supposing such to be introduced) to do for the South that which it has done for the North, even the gigantic sum represented by the present value of slave property would speedily be realized. We say nothing here of the value of unimproved lands, which the government might well spare for so grand and ultimately profitable an object. This would pay off the vast demand. But our desire is to call attention to the fact, that were the value of the land at present under cultivation in the Southern States, to rise by the introduction of a free system, to that now attained by the less fertile land of the Northern States, every planter would be enriched, although he were to give his slaves their freedom to-morrow. And, upon the border-states, where the benefits of freedom are within view, and where slave labour is less valuable because less secure, we rejoice to know that many are beginning to recognise the advantages which free labour would bring, and to act upon these newly gained convictions. Western Virginia and Eastern Tennessee already show a beneficial fruit. Kentucky is far from unwilling to adopt a free system. Missouri, so violent at one time in its crusade against freedom in Kansas, has since by its elections given proof of a changed faith. Maryland and Delaware have little of slavery remaining in them; whilst Texas in the South is largely cultivated by German free labourers. To these hopeful indications we may add the growing hostility to slavery amongst the trading community of the Southern cities, and particularly among the younger portion of the population. Mr. Stirling gives cheering testimony as to the existence of this new and encouraging element. As yet, he says, it is concealed; the movement has not attained form—not even consciousness; but from it he augurs most hopefully as to the future.

Were we asked the question, How is slavery to be got rid of?—we should give answer, that our chief expectation is in the working out of natural economic causes, aided by the impulse given by a spreading conviction that slavery is a burden from which deliverance is to be sought, rather than a benefit to be retained. We believe that the small body of planters, as soon as they perceive that they would be better, safer, happier, richer, without slavery than with it, will give their serious consideration to the question, how best to accomplish so desirable a result. The large body of Southerners, not owning slaves themselves, will soon forsake the old banner, when slavery has lost its *prestige*, and the conviction gains ground that it has been a blunder and a folly. Once let the South desire the change, and the means of its accomplishment will speedily be devised. Not through political power and the votes in Congress—we think Mr. Stirling over-estimates what may be expected from this source—but through natural economic adjustments, it is possible that the giant wrong may be abated sooner than many now anticipate. Our demand for cotton is already so rapidly overtaking the possibility of supply by the slave labour of the United States,—the price of slaves has already reached a height so excessive when compared with free labour,—may not the time come, as Mr. Stirling suggests, when slavery shall be impossible, and when the slave-owner shall be driven in self-defence to the adoption of a free system?

Whether emancipation come sooner or later, we thoroughly agree with the author of these "Letters from the Slave-States," that "the deliverance of the South must be a growth—a gradual progress towards enlightened and efficient industry." Provision must be made whereby to develop the capacities, and raise the intellectual and moral condition of the slave. "The elevation and the emancipation of the negro must go hand in hand." And to this end there must be a reversal of those influences which have hitherto degraded him. To quote our author's words: "We cannot make a moral intelligence of a being we use as a mere muscular power. But let us treat the negro as a man, and we restore to him the consciousness of a human will. When we respect his rights, he will feel his duties. And so, gradually, the negro slave will rise from his abasement: he will work harder, more intelligently, and more cheerfully; he will become a better worker, and a nobler man; his self-reliance, self-control, and self-respect will grow apace, and at length he will approve himself fit for freedom and worthy of citizenship."

ART. IV.--THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF CASTE.

1. *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Company, and of the Native States of the Continent of India.* By Edward Thornton. Allen & Co.
2. *The Theory and Practice of Caste.* By B. A. Irving. Smith & Elder.

THE existence of caste as an institution venerable in its origin, and of powerful influence in the country of its adoption, is a fact generally known. By those accustomed to regard the territories of India through the light of idealized record as regions of unparalleled fertility, yielding bountifully all the elements of material affluence, where the earth gives forth her fruit unsparingly, where mines teem with costliest merchandise, and where waters roll over golden beds—the mediæval East of Mandeville or Marco Polo, glittering with the marvels and enchantments wrought by extravagance, even by those versed but in those dim lights of tradition revealing the palace of Prester John—the idea of caste is associated as inseparably bound up with the social usages of India. Not the less has this idea imbued the minds of those whose predilections incline them to modern sources of enlightenment more reliable if not so dazzling; while we find students of Indian history following in the pages of Mill or Elphinstone, not only the fascinating chronicle of English conquests in the triumphs of Clive and Hastings, but seeking an elucidation of Indian social laws in the operation of caste as a fact no less remarkable, important, and essential to the right understanding of these laws, than the customs of suttee, infanticide, or idol-worship. One unvarying explanation of this extraordinary institution has been transmitted from time to time. This interpretation, just as regards theory, if ever, which is very doubtful, applicable in a practical sense, is so no longer. Thus, spite the recognition of the importance of caste, the greatest misconception has existed in the popular mind as to this essential element of Eastern nationality. Its divisions and sub-divisions, with the maze of superstitious observances to which its corruptions have given rise, render it, indeed, extremely difficult to comprehend or explain; but though inappreciable probably, in some measure, except by the native mind, some points are, nevertheless, sufficiently obvious on careful inquiry, in its principal features and relations, to enable us to arrive at a just conception of its nature and operations. The characteristics of the theory as shown in the accounts of numerous writers, it is true, appear simple; though

the infinite forms in which these operate, the multiplied customs and ceremonies resulting from their agency, render it complex in the extreme ; so that a correct notion of the elaborate details into which the system ramifies, and its identification under the most diverse and anomalous phases, is next to impossible. Caste as represented by Schlegel and other writers is that portrayed in the ancient Vedas, environed, like the Mosaic law, by stringent ordinances and penalties. Mr. Horace St. John, in his "History of British Conquests in India," states: "that Professor Wilson's remarkable success in the translation of the 'Rigveda,' is clearing the way for the march of those intellectual forces which are to shake, shatter, and level the gloomy but stupendous fabric of Brahminical superstition. Thousands of intelligent Hindoos are perceiving from the witness of their own religious books—the scriptures and canons of their ancient faith—that the priesthood has deluded them with monstrous traditionary legends and false interpolations, invented to furnish resources for the fund of sacerdotal craft, in the credulity of an ignorant multitude." Thus, the prevailing idea of caste has been drawn from the commentaries of arrogant, intolerant Brahmins, rather than from the form under which it was accepted by, and influential among the people.

In the code of Menu, having for its foundation the sacred books to which it bears constant testimony, we find the whole race of Hindoos included in the following divisions of the sacerdotal, the military, the industrious or mercantile, and the servile classes. The first of these, the Brahmins, are said to have issued from the mouth of Brahma ; the second, the Cshatrya, from his arm ; the third, Vaisya, from his thigh ; and the fourth, the Sudras, from his foot. The inference of this allegory is, of course, to give nobility, power, and privilege to the Brahmin, the bestowal of which does not exempt him, however, from certain fixed duties. The priestly office and work of legislation are assigned to him, the first of these involving a diligent study of the Vedas, which he is to read aloud and expound. The offering of sacrifice, as well as assisting others to offer it, is incumbent upon him ; the bestowal of alms, and the acceptance of gifts. To maintain an exterior appropriate to his venerable calling, he is "always to appear clean and decent, having his hair and beard clipped, his body pure, his mantle white, and bearing a staff and a copy of the Vedas in his hand, and bright golden rings in his ears." That he is to shun all frivolous amusements, and to keep his passions subdued, is an accompaniment to this clause. Yet he is not required to fast or subject himself to needless severities, so that the restrictions of his class are slight compared with the

honours and benefits accorded it. The Brahmin is regarded as the chief of human creatures, to whom the world is dedicated, and whose favours or denunciations surpass in force the fulminations of the Olympian god. He could by his power, also, form fresh worlds and give life to gods and men. Hence the profound respect with which he inspires even kings. By a curious contradiction, the same power which could injure or destroy existence in others, was not sufficient for the preservation of his own, and the life and property of the Brahmin were to be protected by the most stringent laws, the contempt of which was punished severely. Thus all offences against him were chastised with fearful rigour, while his own were treated with remarkable lenity. Stealing gold or injuring cattle, or any other property belonging to a Brahmin, involves penalties of extraordinary severity. While so many enactments exist for the preservation of their possessions, there are an equal number for increasing them. Every religious ceremony includes presents to the Brahmins, and by lavish offerings the worst penances can be commuted. If a Brahmin finds a treasure, he keeps the whole of it; if found by another person, the king takes it, giving one-half to the Brahmins. Their property—not having descendants—is divided among their own class, while that of other classes, under such circumstances, is forfeited to the king. They are exempt from taxation, liberality towards them is incumbent upon all, and their maintenance is enforced upon the state, should they be reduced to poverty. As a lesson in humility necessary to counteract such favoritism, the early period of the life of a Brahmin is to be devoted to menial services. He then has to perform servile offices for his preceptor, provide logs for sacrifice, and beg from door to door; while during another period he becomes an anchorite, and clad in bark or the skin of the black antelope, lives silent and solitary, feeding on roots or berries.

Next in rank are the Cshatryas, or military class; these possessing, in some sort, a sacred character as essential to the welfare of the Brahmin; the precepts of Menu supporting a principle equivalent to our Church and State union in assuming the prosperity of both to depend on their alliance. Like the Brahmins, they boasted immunities in criminal law, though in an inferior degree. Their duty was to give alms; also to read the Vedas, to shun earthly temptations, but principally to defend the people. The Cshatryas alone engrossed the military profession and the executive government, the Brahmins interpreting only the laws.

Upon the Vaisyas, the mercantile class, devolved the reading of the Vedas, but their chief employment consisted in attending herds of cattle, in the interchange of commerce, in money-lending,

and in the occupations of agriculture. Such were the heterogeneous duties of the Vaisyas, requiring a diverse and somewhat extensive knowledge for their performance. Whilst these three classes enjoyed equality to a certain degree, uniting together in important rites, and together receiving the benefits of legislation and religion, the fourth, the miserable Sudras, were degraded to a condition surpassing in its wretchedness that of the villain of the mediæval age. Forbidden to accumulate property, and having every source of emolument or distinction, nay, almost of subsistence, closed to them, all chance of amelioration was hopeless. Nor were they permitted to look to a future world for indemnity, since not even transmigration, it was considered, could effect any material change in their condition. Though devoted to the service of the Brahmin, the Sudra received not in return any spiritual enlightenment or consolation from that supreme functionary. The precepts of the law forbade them even to open the Vedas. A Brahmin cannot receive an offering from him, nor eat what is cooked by his hand. The greatest submission is required from him, and impertinence is to be expiated by having his tongue slit. Should he lecture a Brahmin, hot oil is to be poured into his mouth; should he listen to scandal against him, hot lead into his ears. So lightly is the existence of a Sudra esteemed, that the penalty for killing him is the same as for killing a lizard or a frog. We see, therefore, that the laws of Menu include ordinances of the most glaring injustice and oppression, the practice of which in their fullest significance it is difficult to imagine to have ever been in vogue even among the pliant and weak-willed Hindoos. History, it is true, is not wanting in precedents of the existence of systems of slavery for certain periods, yet these have never prevailed for centuries with the universal consent, nor can we conceive them to have done so, though favoured by the apathetic immutability of the East. At all events, it is satisfactory to reflect that such precepts are now obsolete, at least in their actual interpretations. Notwithstanding, it is doubtless owing to the prestige of its sacred origin, that caste has exercised its marvellous influence. But it is in the spirit of the tenets rather than in the letter, that it has remained; as the influence of feudalism might endure long after actual serfdom was abolished. Certain it is that the orders as well as the titles of Cshatryas and Vaisyas are no longer known. In place of these there exists an infinite variety of castes bearing more the character of guilds, or associations for mutual benefit and intercourse, which derive a nomenclature either from the province in which they arise or from their founder. The confederations prevail equally among the Mussulmen and Parsees as well as the Hindoos, and sometimes in an extraordinary

proportion, the number of associations in Bengal alone amounting to some hundreds. The rules of these, infinitely diversified and curiously interwoven with native and local idiosyncracies, frequently degenerate into mere formalities, yet regulate the minutest circumstances of life, as courtesy among the Chinese is never forgotten, though degraded into mere fantastic ceremony. Occasionally, we have presented some observance in which the distinction made is so inconsistent that it appears absolutely inconceivable to a rational mind; as, for instance, that the domestic who sweeps your room should refuse to take a cup from your hand; and the servant who grooms your horse should feel insulted by a request to mow some grass for its sustenance.

The testimony of history goes far to prove that a strict interpretation of the laws of caste was never for any length of time in active operation, from the repeated instances of men of the humblest origin having attained to sovereign power. As among us the influence of wealth has overcome even *prestige* of birth. Opulent members of the *bourgeois* class have been privileged to compete with aristocracy, and the latter have even sometimes become subordinate. Through this process of inversion it is not unfrequent for a Brahmin to find employment, having made himself a proficient cook under some prosperous Sudra. In this case, the most singular incongruities result. All food prepared by a Brahmin is pure, and consequently eatable by his master, whose use of the plates, however, cause them to be polluted, and his domestic will not touch them. The difficulty of comprehending these superstitions is increased by the fact that they cannot be reduced to any regular standard, depending as they do on local or family peculiarities totally opposed. In Bengal and Orissa, fish is universally eaten, while in some quarters it is held in abhorrence. The Hindoo aversion to animal food is well known, and such is the hatred of pork that thousands have died from famine rather than violate their prejudices; yet the majority will eat the flesh of the deer and wild boar when not killed by their own hands. A short-tailed sheep is eaten when a long-tailed one they will not touch, and those who shrink from poultry will devour jungle fowl. In certain districts the Brahmins to whom all animal food is forbidden, will nevertheless partake of the flesh of any animal whatever. With some castes, pork is the chief diet; with others, only beef is prohibited.

The same contradictions occur with respect to other matters. An earthen pot, for instance, is polluted irretrievably when touched by one of inferior caste, whilst a metal one suffers no such injury. So trivial are the differences sometimes, that many castes are distinguished from each other only by the colour

or fashion of their clothes. The debasing effect of this maze of delusive superstitions into which the system of caste has degenerated, is alone an irrefutable argument against it. An extraordinary obliquity of moral perception and principle are manifested through its influence, giving rise to the repeated perjuries of Hindoo witnesses, for when summoned against any one associated with them through caste, it is considered a duty to swear to everything which can tell in his favour. These perversions constitute a formidable obstacle to enlightened regulations, and the procedure of justice according to English routine. As a theory, caste involves doctrines of the grossest injustice, founded upon the most despotic principles of absolutism. The modification even of its spirit in practice is prolific of servility on the one hand, and the tyranny of self-exaltation on the other; the support of a social policy utterly opposed to the introduction of English affinities and sentiments—the nationality of England, deriving its nobility from the recognition of equality in a common enjoyment among all orders of the benefits of religion, law, and government. It is true that the immunities of rank among us too frequently prevail to the detriment of strict justice and integrity, and that the trammels of etiquette resulting from these class-distinctions are vigorously enforced; yet liberal education and superiority of character go far to destroy these prejudices, unsanctioned by what we are accustomed to regard as our highest standard of ethics, and unenforced but by the caprice of arbitrary regulation or custom. Beyond all, they are undermined by the influences of the Christian faith, and by the great principle it establishes of the equality of all men before their Maker. This it is which constitutes the marked difference between the Hindoo social creeds and our own (occasionally less irrational and frivolous), that while theirs is supported by sacred authority—the cause, indeed, of its dominion—Revelation with us disclaims them entirely. Caste has not wanted advocates, however, who describing it as a salutary institution, have nevertheless been unable to refute facts proving beyond doubt its evil effects considered with reference to the welfare of the Hindoos as a race, while it militates powerfully against those objects which it is the aim of our civilization to accomplish. As destructive of all public spirit, it is highly injurious. No patriotic sense exists, binding all in the unanimity of brothers through one common bond—the love of country. Hence, the ease with which successive invaders have overrun the Indian territories. Connected with this is the characteristic apathy of the Asiatic, which renders him insensible to the desire of improvement in the condition of

his fellow-men, and the utter absence of a zeal in the pursuance of everything that could tend to public prosperity and progress. A corresponding indifference prevails as to the existence of evils menacing the general welfare: proved by the bands of assassins and plunderers—Decoit gangs, Thugs, and Pindarees, who follow their grim vocations without an effort made for their suppression. A narrow feeling of clanship, produced by caste, deprives its members of the common impulses of humanity towards those without the pale of some particular class. A traveller might faint by the way, yet the dread of pollution would prevent his receiving assistance. It thus obstructs the exercise of benevolence, engenders jealousy and pride, arms men against each other, renders prejudice inveterate, and degrades and enthralls the mind through the very medium which should elevate and free it; for the religious principle is the source only of submission to debasing superstition. Prolific of evils, it is productive of no counteracting advantage; for while depressing alike the mental capacities and moral energies, it is a barrier to the hope of advancement, materially, intellectually, and religiously. No native characteristic or custom can, we imagine, be so detrimental to the efforts of the missionary as the prevalence of caste, nourishing aversions and partialities utterly at variance with the spirit of the Gospel. Picture a country deprived through the restrictions of a system, of all that has ennobled ours with a catalogue of illustrious names; that has given birth to patriotism, philanthropy, and industry; that has extended our empire far and wide,—and we have an image of the apathetic immutability of the East.

Considered with reference to English dominion, it constitutes an important obstacle to the consolidation of our power, which the present critical juncture renders an absorbing consideration. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance to understand the variety of the operations of caste, in none more strongly visible than in the Anglo-Indian army.

Among our troops are numbered Hindoos of every rank and every tribe, including thirty nations supplying recruits to our force of Sepoys. The high caste men have, however, a decided preponderance and preference in selection. This favouritism has been practised by the government to a remarkable extent, so that in the Bengal Presidency, men have been actually paid up and discharged, when any doubt existed as to their caste: "A line of policy," says an eminent authority, "very imprudent, as the high caste men do not always make the best regular soldiers. They are generally at the bottom of all insubordination."

The rule of the service is, that Brahmins should not exceed

a certain proportion; a regulation which partiality has laid aside. This apparent contempt of the lower orders has supported the pretensions of caste in a highly injudicious degree. The cause of this preference for the Brahmin is not easy to determine, when weighty objections of a military kind exist to his employment. The Brahmin is characterized by greater tenacity in matters of religion; consequently, there is greater difficulty in finding him provisions, and he evinces a more ready disposition to mutiny; while an equally martial spirit has been shown in regiments drawn from the lower classes: for instance, in the distinguished corps of the Bengal Sappers and Miners, and the low caste Madras army of high repute in the Mahratta wars. The attention of our government has been directed to the importance of caste, though principally through a military point of view; its antipathies having been repressed in proportion as they were injurious to the discipline or utility of the army solely. Hence, diversity of creed and custom do not interfere with the force of military subordination, for on parade or actual service, no expression of aversion is permitted, and mutual forbearance, consequently, is shown. Under this control, Hindoos have mounted hogskin saddles, have been transported over sea from place to place, and in despite of prejudice, the Brahmin and Rajpoot have obeyed a Sudra or Chandala as his officer! Yet with all these contingencies of compulsion, the Brahmins are so desirous to gain admission into the English forces, that they often feign to belong to an inferior though still more favoured caste (the Rajpoots), in order to join them. The superficial nature of this merely *military* method of loosening the bonds of caste, is proved by facts. Parade over, and authority withdrawn, it again resumes sway. Coteries according to caste are seen, or some even eat their meal singly, like the monarch of modern date compelled to sacrifice the genialities of his table, because no one existed of suitable rank to dine with him! The power of discipline suffices, however, to show the weakness of caste prejudices under the resistance of superior mental energy and strength of moral purpose. This, in addition to the corruptions which have already undermined it, constitutes the criterion of its decay, and the certain prophecy of its eventual extinction. Respect in an indiscriminate degree for this institution has too long swayed the regulations of our rule, when to facilitate its extirpation through unshrinking and habitual effort in the numerous channels favourable to its suppression and open to successful endeavour, should be the aim of all engaged in developing English dominion, and establishing the supremacy of English civilization in India.

ART. V.—ANCIENT ROMAN HUSBANDRY.

Lectures on Roman Husbandry, delivered before the University of Oxford. By Charles Daubeny, M.D., F.R.S., &c., Professor of Botany and Rural Economy. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker. 1857.

THE georgical precepts of the ancients might, at first view, seem to be interesting only to a comparatively small number of modern readers, belonging either to the classical or the professional school of students. Thus we can readily imagine the lover of classical literature sedulously labouring with devoted ardour to comprehend the most trivial minutiae of Columella's descriptions, and to enter into the spirit of all the fervid and pregnant elegancies of Virgil's diction, simply that he may leave no obscurity unexplained, and no difficulty unsolved, how uninviting soever the theme may be in itself, and how barren the investigation in its results. We can fancy, too, a farmer of this nineteenth century so inquiring in spirit, and so literary in taste, as that returning from the labours of the field, he will beguile his leisure hours, and amuse and instruct his mind, by comparing the systems of ancient and modern agriculturists, and by seeking hints to provoke his imitation, or direct his experiments, in the practices of those ancient nations who in some arts were our superiors, and in very many our instructors and guides. But beyond these two classes, the Lectures before us, and the ancient authors of whom they treat, might be supposed entirely without interest or advantage. Such, however, is not the case. Even to the general and superficial reader, works of this kind present abundance of amusement and instruction; while to the student of human character and of social economics, who pursues his inquiries into the manners and institutions of our race as developed at any era of its history, and under any clime, they afford abundant food for reflection and speculation. The tone and tenor of country life, the simple manners and unaffected purity of sentiment and of action, which have in all ages of the world characterized the tillers of the soil as contrasted with the denizens of cities, together with their single-minded and unobtrusive piety, render their customs and their lives a subject of highly interesting and highly improving study. We are, therefore, delighted to find such a writer and thinker as Dr. Daubeny, apply his great talents and experience to the class of authors which he has undertaken to illustrate in these Lectures. Such a work as he has provided, was urgently demanded, both because of the importance of the subject, and by reason of the

paucity of treatises on ancient husbandry. Last century, it is true, Mr. Adam Dickson, a Scotch clergyman of much erudition and taste, published a rather voluminous essay on these topics. To his task he brought a mind of great acuteness and discrimination, an ardent love for the affairs of agriculture, and a lengthened practical experience in carrying out the every-day details of farm husbandry; but the non-academical character of the man, the ill odour into which classical learning for some time fell, together with sundry blemishes in the work itself, combined with other causes too numerous to notice, hindered the sale of the treatise, and consigned it to comparative obscurity. It possesses, however, great merits, and is highly deserving of confidence in its discussions on many points of rural economy and agricultural appliances. Mere academical editors, on the other hand, who through their whole life have breathed only the atmosphere of crowded streets, and have experienced, almost without cessation, the narrowing influences of university cloisters—to which class commentators on the *Scriptores Rei Rusticæ* have most commonly belonged—are unable to cope fairly with the difficulties presented by the technicalities of agricultural science, and the details of agricultural operations; and they have, moreover, but little sympathy with the feelings and sentiments of a rustic population, nor can they appreciate many of the more simple and touching scenes and significant references which such a poet as Virgil presents to us. All our commentaries are thus defective in an essential article of successful annotation; and we still desiderate a man, who with a full practical knowledge of the farmer's calling, combines accurate and refined scholarship, improved by foreign travel, and an acquaintance with the scenes of Italian landscape, and the present processes of Italian husbandry. In his edition of the "Georgics" of Virgil, Mr. Keightley has shown that he possesses many of these requisites; and it is, therefore, the more to be regretted that he did not bestow greater pains and closer thought on a work for which he was in some measure cut out. That Dr. Daubeny is in every way qualified for his task, cannot with truth be stated; but he enjoys many advantages which few, if any, of his predecessors could command; and in justice it must be admitted that he has acquitted himself in a manner which does credit to his taste, scholarship, and judgment.

In explaining the object which he has had in view, and the plan which he has pursued in his "Lectures on Roman Husbandry," Dr. Daubeny says: "It has been my intention to put you in possession of so much of the practical rules of farming as appeared capable of receiving elucidation from the principles of

modern science; explaining by means of the latter the rationale of those methods which experience had shown to be successful, and suggesting such improvements as the art might appear to admit of, when these principles were followed out into their proper and legitimate consequences." To the strictly scientific object of elucidating the writings of the ancients by means of the discoveries of the moderns, he has judiciously added such remarks as are calculated to enlist our sympathies for the actors in the scenes described, and to increase our admiration for the amenities and ever-fresh beauties of the country—its simple life and pure enjoyments. He does not enter into that minuteness of detail which has marred the usefulness and the popularity of Mr. Dickson's work, while, at the same time, he has passed too lightly over many difficulties which naturally presented themselves for discussion in the region which he has traversed.

In no art are the cultivators more *conservative* than in that of agriculture. Even in our own kingdoms the modes of tillage adopted in remote districts and among a primitive population, having little intercourse with the more enlightened and enterprising sections of the farming class, are almost coeval with the introduction of civilization, and the implements of husbandry still exhibit the forms which our forefathers of many generations back were wont to approve. This tardiness to change is especially characteristic of ancient agriculture, to which the discoveries of chemistry were unknown; and a greater difference is now observable in the most advanced farming districts between the processes of thirty years ago and the present day, than can be traced in the progress of centuries in the olden time. This peculiarity renders a general survey of ancient husbandry a work of less difficulty than might at first sight be supposed; and though Cato and Varro, Virgil and Columella differ in arrangement and in the topics handled, and are not at one on many points of detail, and even on general principles, still there is a sameness in their treatises which makes comparison and parallelism a matter of comparative ease. Hence, Dr. Daubeny has wisely taken as his text-book the work of Columella, the fullest and the latest of the georgical writers. He contents himself with a meagre sketch of the life of Cato the Censor (to whose character, however, he scarcely does justice), and of Varro, giving at the same time a succinct analysis of their respective manuals of agriculture, while passing notices of Palladius and Pliny dispose of these writers with summary conciseness, slight notice being taken of them once and again in the course of the commentary. To Virgil, whose "Georgics" are introduced only when they serve to illustrate some statement of Columella, or when the author feels called on to aid in clearing up an obscurity, he pays

the following well-merited tribute, acknowledging that he was—

“A poet whose directions, concise as they may be, and limited as it might seem to subjects that admitted of some embellishment from language and imagery, are nevertheless so sagacious and exact, so indicative of that happy balance of mental endowments which is more conspicuous in his writings than perhaps in those of any other person eminently gifted with genius and imagination, that we are almost inclined to grudge the large proportion of the poem diverted to episodes; which although scarcely ever inappropriate, and always calculated to afford the most refined pleasure which poetry can impart, do not nevertheless contribute to the proposed design of imparting agricultural instruction. . . . As the confidence which the Roman farmer must have entertained in the soundness of the author's remarks in matters of husbandry, may have often induced him to refine and recreate his mind with the beauties of the poetry, so the latter may have often inspired the mere amateur with an interest in the pursuit from its being presented to him in so attractive a form.”

This last remark is entirely just, and affords the best defence that can be desired for the course which the Mantuan bard pursued in giving his “Georgics” so much of the episodial character. The more will it seem so when we reflect that Virgil's unrivalled didactic was written not more to teach the soldier-farmers who had settled down in the lands allotted to the veterans of Octavianus and Antony, the rules and principles of rural economy generally, than to mollify their natures rendered ferocious by war and bloodshed, to rekindle in the hearts of the Italians some of that romantic love of country life which had been entertained in the early days of the Republic, but which had been supplanted in great measure by a fondness for war and a thirst for military distinction—passions but too widely engendered during the troublous times consequent on the baleful ambition of Marius and Sulla, Pompey and Cæsar, Antony and Octavianus. Though the powerful pen of Cicero applauded agriculture as meriting precedence of all other occupations, and pronounced that of all employments by which any gain is made “*nihil est agricultura melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius*,” yet Virgil is forced to exclaim that in his day “the plough was not held in due estimation,” (*non ullus aratro dignus honos*), and that men had receded from that primitive simplicity of life and morals which had distinguished their forefathers. Great commanders did not in those degenerate days in which the poet lived, pass at once from whistling at the plough to wield the sword and to sound the rough martial note on the *tuba* or the *lituus*, contented to retire

to the privacy of their fields, and to resume their humble occupations so soon as victory had shown them her favour. But still there were many, and they the choicest of the subjects of Rome, who took delight in the shady groves and ivy-embowered caves of the blessed *rus*—who stretching themselves on the grass-grown bank of some gurgling brook, were lulled to soft and balmy sleep by the ceaseless music of its brawling waters. There were many who, like the poets Horace and Virgil, longed to steal away from the bustle and din of the maddened Forum, to sweet and congenial retreats of grottos and “living lakes,” where the bleating of sheep and the lowing of oxen proved a delicious contrast to the clinking of the money-changers and the discordant cries of the stalls—where a frugal meal, washed down by a glass of rich Cæcuban or Falernian, made ample amends for the temporary loss of the triclinial *cæna*, and the unctuous viands of the greasy *caupo*—where a cozy “snuggery” of limited dimensions, with a fire blazing on the hearth, surpassed in real comfort and enjoyment the ample banqueting hall with its fretted ceiling and gorgeous appointments—and where converse, close and sweet, might freely be held with that innocent and unsophisticated race among whom the goddess Astræa, when abandoning earth, had placed her latest footsteps. Such pictures of rural enjoyment do we find, by hundreds, in the Latin poets, and such sympathies does Virgil endeavour to awaken in the minds of the new settlers, and of his readers generally, by his touching and simple descriptions, which as bye-play, he has introduced into his agricultural poem. In connexion with this subject, Dr. Daubeny remarks that the—

“Employment of slaves, with all the repulsive features associated in our minds with such a system, may indeed strike us as being but little in harmony with the picture of rural felicity so beautifully pourtrayed by Virgil:—

Illic saltus et lustra ferarum,
Et patiens operum, parvoque assueta Juventus,
Sacra Deum, sanctique patres: extrema per illos
Justitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.

But the poet contemplated a state of things when, as in the times of Cincinnatus and of Curius Dentatus, each father of a family cultivated with his own hands his paternal estate, and gave at once dignity and importance to the occupation.”

But to return to the Lectures. Columella's work, which, as already stated, Dr. Daubeny has taken as his text-book, is one of extensive range, treating not only of agriculture proper, but also of the management of the vine-yard, olive-yard, and orchard; of the breeding and treatment of live-stock; of the rearing and

tending of bees ; the culture of gardens, and other kindred subjects, the whole forming a complete system of rural economy. In epitomizing his author, Dr. Daubeny is led to discuss many topics of general interest in the regions of political and social economics, and invariably manifests in this field a shrewd discrimination and a sound judgment. The subject of slave labour referred to above, is early brought under notice, and that institution among the Romans is shown to have been the great cause which led to the depreciation of agriculture, and to the abandonment by the respectable classes of those occupations in which slaves were made to engage. Slavery was thus one of the remote causes of the downfall of the Roman empire. A parallel is instituted by reference to the slave states of America, where it is said that "the whites will endure the most abject poverty rather than undertake those labours in which negroes are employed." We trust that the parallel may not speedily be carried out to its full application in the Transatlantic republic, but our friends must take warning in time, and by discretion anticipate the sure operation of a great moral law. From the extensive employment of slaves in the operations of agriculture, Dr. Daubeny draws the conclusion, that in the later years of the Republic, and most probably during the Empire, the proprietors of land must have experienced considerable difficulty in finding tenants for their farms, as much capital would of necessity be expended on the purchase of *hands* to till, in addition to the acquisition of stock and utensils. "Hence," he says, "it seems probable that the *coloni*, of whom Columella speaks, were for the most part small holders, perhaps little better than the Irish cottiers, renting small plots of land which they could cultivate by their own labour, and that of a few household slaves ; whilst the larger farms were usually in the hands of the landlord, tended by means of a bailiff or *villicus*." After referring to the mode of cultivation by a *politor*, or *partiarius* (mentioned by Cato), who entered into a kind of partnership with the landlord, receiving part of the produce of the farm as his remuneration for labour done, he goes on to say that—

"The *coloni*, to whom Columella alludes, seem to have paid rent like modern tenants, and hence were probably on the same footing in this respect with the farmers of our own country ; whilst the *politores* of Cato resembled in some points the *metayers* of France and Italy, excepting that the latter obtain a large proportion of the produce in return for a greater amount of labour and capital expended."

In reference to the *metayer* system, some interesting particulars are furnished from Sismondi:—

"In Tuscany the *metayer* contracts to perform all the labours of the

farm, to furnish props for the vines, to supply half the seed and half the manure, to hand over to the landlord half of all the crops, to share with him in the profit from the cattle, to make over to him a portion of the eggs, pullets, and capons, and to wash a part of his linen; whilst the landlord engages to supply the other half of the manure, and to be at all the expense of repairs."

Then follow some judicious remarks on the different modes of tenure, and a comparison in several points between the modern and the ancient slave system, much to the advantage of the latter; the slavery of ancient times being considered relatively to the manners and sentiments of the period, and that of modern days being viewed in the light of Christianity and a higher civilization. Torture and penalties of a most severe kind were, it is true, inflicted on the Roman slaves, and human laws were less explicit as to their treatment than they are at present, but they had many privileges and opportunities which are now-a-days denied to the unfortunate children of parched Africa. If ancient slaves held their lives merely at the beck of an imperious master, yet they had many opportunities of bettering their condition, and of rising to offices of trust, honour, and emolument; and numerous instances are to be found in which those on whom the prison chains once clanked, became distinguished in their own day, and were celebrated in succeeding ages, as holding a foremost position among the glorious phalanx of statesmen, warriors, and poets. In reference to the treatment of slaves, Columella has thrown out some hints, the principle of which might not be entirely unworthy of notice, even in our days of boasted liberty and enlightenment, by the rulers of our Indian empire, for they were penned with special reference, no doubt, to those *servile wars* of which Italy had seen several returns. In concluding this part of his subject, Dr. Daubeny enters into calculations of wages, keep, &c., which prove that the "advantage would be much greater in form of free labour," and winds up as follows:—

"Hence, whilst the expense of slave labour was scarcely less, its productiveness fell considerably short of that by means of free men; and, indeed, as we have seen, the declension of agriculture in Italy dates from the time when slaves became abundant. It is, therefore, perhaps not wonderful that in spite of the fertility of the greater part of Italy, the culture of the Cerealia did not flourish, and that the Romans were accustomed to depend for their supply of corn on Sicily, Africa, and other regions; the very opposite system being pursued from that which, till within the last changes in politics, has prevailed with us, and this staple of life being actually provided to the citizens of Rome at a lower sum than the cost of production, instead of having its price enhanced by artificial regulations."

On the kinds of soil, and all the various means and imple-

ments of farming, Columella is very minute; and it is not a little remarkable that in such matters as the burning of the upper coating of soil, the ancient practice is still followed in many parts of our own country, and almost for the same reasons which Columella and Virgil assign; while drainage by small stones or gravel, and by branches of trees, or twigs twisted rope-fashion, and so trodden tightly down into the bottom of the trench, is enforced by Columella with all the eagerness and precision of a Smith of Deanston. On the form of the plough, much discussion has arisen among men learned in objects of antiquity, but not with any satisfactory result. Dr. Daubeny has given several types of the antique plough, and has endeavoured to assign its proper name to each part; but we are not convinced by his demonstrations. We do not mean, however, to enter further into the controversy than to quote from a recently published edition of Virgil,* a note on *dentalia duplici dorso* (Geo. I. 172.), which bears on this point, and has the merit of novelty. After commenting on former interpretations, the editor remarks: "With *dorsum* we associate rather the idea of the sloping ridge of a hill, or the elevated part of the animal body from the neck to the hind-quarters, i.e. the backbone—both of these implying a central ridge with sloping sides. Now looking at the share (*vomer*), and the share-beam (*dentale*) in the above woodcuts, and especially in that which follows [consult the edition referred to], we see that both are thicker in the centre, i.e. have a central ridge, and are *bevelled*, or sloping, in the wings or flaps, which descend from this centre; i.e. that the *dentale* gradually grows thinner on each side towards the edge. We would, therefore, venture to throw it out as a question for the consideration of the learned, whether *dentalia* may not refer to the two flaps, or *ears*, or *flukes*, of the share and share-beam [as seen in the woodcuts], i.e. those two pointed extremities which terminate the *dentale*, and its iron shoeing, the *vomer*, at their greatest breadth. *Duplici dorso* would thus be used with strict propriety as meaning 'two sloping ridges joined in one,' and we might translate 'share-flukes are fitted in (or with) a two-fold sloping ridge: ' i.e. in a slope descending from the *dorsum* on either side. . . Since writing the foregoing observations, we have found in Holdsworth's remarks on Virgil, the following notice remarkably confirmatory of the view now advanced: 'In the kingdom of Naples the share is called *gomere*, and is made with two corners jutting out,

* The Works of Virgil, with English Notes. By Archibald H. Bryce, A.B., of Trin. Coll., Dublin, and one of the Classical Masters in the High School of Edinburgh. London: R. Griffin & Co. 1857.

and rising in the middle, with a back called *schiena*, i.e. chine, *dorsum*." With this quotation we leave the subject once more to the learned.

Those interested in the culture of the vine will find much information as to ancient practices in Dr. Daubeny's fifth Lecture, where, moreover, he discusses, at considerable length, the assertion of Columella, that "every tree can be grafted upon every other, provided only their bark be similar;" and where he also refutes the modern notion, entertained by not a few, that "every graft has a certain limit to its existence prescribed to it, and that the limit is determined by the age of the tree from which it was itself derived." Nor is the olive forgotten, that gift of the goddess Minerva, which, in ancient times, was the glory and the wealth of Athens, and which in our own unromantic days clothes the bleak hills of southern France, "the slopes of the Apennines, and the mountains of Greece," needing but little of man's attention, yet affording to the inhabitants of warm climes an oil which is an acceptable substitute for the butter of our more northern regions.

Among the diversities between ancient and modern farming, none perhaps are more remarkable than those which refer to live stock. With what an incredulous smile would an agricultural friend from Devonshire, or the Lothians, receive the statement that among the husbandmen whom Augustus and Tiberius counted as their subjects, there were many who advocated the entire removal of live stock from the farm, and who deprecated their being employed in agricultural operations! And with how real a chill would John Bull shudder at the bare prospect of banished sirloins and neglected gigots! But difference of climate and of food accounts for many strange and apparently absurd practices. The fertile plains of sunny Italy did not require that the farmer should struggle to increase his manure heap to the utmost extent possible; nor did the warmth of its climate admit of the common use of such stimulating food as the flesh of bullocks and of sheep. Hence we have no directions for fattening of cattle by stall-feeding, or otherwise; and "in the accounts handed down of Roman banquets, fish, game, poultry, venison, and even pork, are mentioned as forming parts of a luxurious entertainment; but nowhere, I believe, either beef or mutton; and we are informed that in the early days of Rome, as well as at Athens, it was as great a crime to slay an ox as a man." That beef and mutton were not entirely disused by the Romans, we learn from incidental references in Plautus, Ovid, Martial, and others; but that their consumption was exceedingly small, and that they were not deemed delicacies, we have the strongest proof in the almost total silence of the

Latin writers. In Italy, sheep were reared for their fleece and milk (whence cheese was made), not for their flesh and fat. But as the ancients were more careless than the moderns in the fattening of their sheep and black cattle, so they were on the contrary more sedulous in their endeavours to provide a never-failing supply of birds for the market and the table. What reader of Horace needs to be reminded of the well-merited severity with which the gastronomic extravagances of the epicure and the gourmand are lashed by that polished satirist, who though he relished a goodly turbot and a well-fed thrush, yet did not grieve that his lamprey was not caught till it had spawned, or that his chickens were not plunged in Falernian must while still alive? Of such light viands as fish, fowl, snails, and dormice, the Roman meals in great part consisted; and as luxury spread with the growing wealth of the Imperial city, every resource of art was put in practice to whet and gratify the appetite; and immense sums were in consequence expended on "ornithones," or bird-preserves, where poultry, pigeons, thrushes, quails, peacocks, geese, ducks, &c., were reared and fattened by thousands, either for pleasure or as a mercantile speculation. In reference to what has been formerly stated, it may be remarked, in the words of Dr. Daubeny, that, "whilst nothing is said by the Roman writers about the fattening of oxen and sheep, particular directions are given for fattening poultry and other birds—a strong additional argument of the little importance they attached to the larger animals as articles of food." A peep at the salt and fresh water fish-ponds, and at the preserves for sea snails and dormice, in addition to the facts already adduced, will suffice to show that in the sketches of Dr. Daubeny are to be found many curious facts of ancient social economy, and much light gossip of a kind to interest and amuse.

But with the picture just drawn compare the following remarks bearing on the industrial arts, and called forth by a discussion as to the use of glass, and the construction of greenhouses:—

"It must be recollected that none of the mechanical or chemical arts were accounted liberal, or their practice otherwise than degrading to men of education. . . Hence these trades were carried on by slaves, who pursued an established routine of operations, without the wish or the ability to improve upon them. The inventions themselves were, therefore, the results of accident, and the improvement which took place from time to time in their manipulations rather proceeded from that superior adroitness which was the consequence of carrying on the same operations again and again, than from the exercise of the reasoning powers in suggesting new and analogous processes."

Dr. Daubeny goes on to show that in modern times the mecha-

nical arts have made rapid strides, owing to the gradation in rank of the persons so engaged, from the master capitalist down to the lowest *hand*; and to the interest which each grade and each individual feels in devising improved modes of manipulation; that thus among the Romans, while the fine arts, which are dependent on individual talent and exertion, flourished, the useful ones, "which require the co-operation of many hands," declined and dwindled. Husbandry, however, still retained, as already mentioned, some of its ancient dignity and gentility, and did not suffer so soon as the mechanical arts, from the employment of slave labour; and while the secrets and general methods of the latter are not recorded to us in any extant treatise, the poet and the prose writer have both put forth their peculiar talents to exalt and perpetuate the noble science of agriculture, as practised by the warlike sons of Imperial Rome.

Thus does Dr. Daubeney detail in succession, though perhaps in a style too uniformly matter-of-fact, the various phases of agricultural life, and the manifold engagements which occupy the husbandman's attention. Delighted we range with him among the beehives and the honey-forests of Italy, entertained by the stories of the fabled origin and amazing sagacity of the tiny race, and wondering at the arrangements of their mimic commonwealth. Again we lounge into the gardens of Saliust, Lucullus, or Calvena, and as we survey the flowering parterres, and the lines of cyprus, or of laurel, pruned and fashioned into shapes of most fantastical device, we imagine ourselves transported to the environs of Amsterdam or the Hague, or thrown back to the era of the Second Charles. Extending our walk, we strike abroad into the open country, and, with the Professor as our guide and instructor, take a lesson on the Greek and Italian Flora, such as we have never been privileged to enjoy before. In conclusion we should not omit to mention that a number of beautifully executed plates, illustrative of the villa architecture and horticultural arrangements of the ancients, and of some other matters of no less interest, lend additional distinctness to the descriptions, and give a relish to the whole.

ART. VI.—LIFE IN AUSTRALIA.

Tallangetta: the Squatter's Home. A Story of Australian Life.
By William Howitt, Author of "Two Years in Victoria."
London: Longmans & Co. 1857.

WE fearlessly affirm that Mr. Howitt's pictures of Australian scenery, society, and condition, are the best which have been yet published of that distant colony. Of the many books that annually appear upon the subject, some are ill-written and vapid; some contain solid but ill-digested matter; others again relate a few personal adventures, or a casual anecdote that unveils perhaps a corner of colonial life. But for a broad, graphic, penetrating, living description—a description which brings the inner and outer life of the colony palpably before the eye—none can compare with "Land, Labour, and Gold," given to the world two years ago, and "Tallangetta, the Squatter's Home," which we have now before us. It was a happy idea to embody in a story the various phases of scenery and life which are met with in our Australian provinces. Instead of necessitating a didactic description of the physical aspect of the country, or moralizing—for the sake of moralizing—on the manners and customs of the colonists, Mr. Howitt has wisely and kindly introduced us to the personal life of the squatter, made us familiar with his accustomed haunts, given us an interest in his daily pursuits, and omitted no trait or colour which could serve to complete a striking and speaking portrait. Further yet, we are led up into the remote rocky regions where the soil is yellow with substantial gold; where men of all colours and nationalities, English, Scotch, Irish, American, German, French, Italian, and Chinese, mingle and struggle together in the search after prize nuggets, and where a precarious regularity is preserved in the midst of what apparently seems confusion and disorder.

Tallangetta is the name of the Squatter's Home. It is a beautiful domain; too beautiful, indeed, for one who has never seen it to describe. We, therefore, allow Mr. Howitt to paint the landscape in his own vivid and animated colours:—

"Our friends at Tallangetta rose early in the morning refreshed and full of new spirits. The sadness of the previous evening was gone with it, and the beauty of the place in which they found themselves inspired them with lively thankfulness for so sweet a home in so superb a scene. The sun, as they rose simultaneously and issued from their rooms, had not yet risen over the eastern shoulder of the hill on whose slope their house stood. The braes around, as the Scotch

would call them, lay in shadow, and sprinkled with cool dews. But far away they could see the tops of the mountains bright with the sunshine, and the wide woodlands illumined like a sea by it. The lake below lay partly in shadow, and partly dazzling in radiance, and the smoke was curling up greyly from the huts at the stock-yard, or village, as it might be termed, at the right-hand corner of the lake. They could see two or three large flocks proceeding in different directions from it, appearing to roll over the plain like a white mist, followed by the shepherds, and accompanied by their dogs, whose gladsome barking reached them clearly. Large flocks of wild-fowl were travelling towards the lake from their different nocturnal feeding-places, and ever and anon they could see the flash of the water as they dashed down into it. Below, to the right, extended that magnificent prairie whose golden-hued surface was now sobered down by the absence of the sun, and around stood the primeval forest dark and solemn.

“From this splendid prospect the delighted group turned to take a more near survey of their dwelling. A sort of natural terrace had been seized upon for the standing of the house. In front, this level left ample space for walking, and this was occupied by grass, and the outskirts of it with beds of mingled shrubs and flowers. The hill then descended at its regular declination, and a considerable piece of ground was inclosed as a vineyard by a hedge of *cyttissus*, looking most agreeable to the eye, with its light green foliage and yellow racemes of flowers. The vineyard was descended by a sort of broad steps, three or four feet wide each; and the vines occupied terraces all neatly stocked and trimmed by a French or German vine-dresser. At the bottom was a broad grass-walk, at each end of which was placed a bench, overshadowed by the silvery grey foliage of quince trees richly hung with fruit.”

The occupants of this superb estate were Sir Thomas Fitzpatrick, now plain Mr. Fitzpatrick, he having been deprived of his title and property in England, by an unscrupulous and intriguing cousin, who, on the ground that Sir Thomas could not prove the legitimacy of his birth, the certificate of his father and mother's marriage not being forthcoming, takes legal proceedings against him as next heir-at-law, and gains his suit; Mrs. Fitzpatrick; Charles Fitzpatrick, the eldest son, a young man of middle height and handsome features; Georgina Fitzpatrick, a young lady of aristocratic manners, tall and well-shaped, and graceful as a gazelle; and Aunt Judith, a kind, affectionate creature—as all maiden aunts invariably are—whose life was so centred in the lives of her dearly beloved relatives, that she had refused all offers of marriage, as wanting nothing more than her independence and their society. The other members of the household were three or four domestics who had chosen to follow the ruined fortunes of their master, rather than desert him in the hour of adversity, amongst whom may be mentioned Abner

Wilks, the gardener, and his wife. Of course every one set to work actively and cheerfully to fulfil their duties in their new calling; flocks and herds were attended to and multiplied, huts were built, gardens planned, stations erected; and all went on prosperously and happily until a repetition of the "Black Thursday" occurred, and for a while, blasted the wealth and the prospects of the bush-farmer. What this Black Thursday was, the reader shall learn from the lips of old Mrs. Quarrier, a friend and neighbour who used occasionally to "drop in" with her son and daughter-in-law, upon the family at Tallangetta, and give them her experience of squatter-life.

"It was in this forest in the early morning of this memorable day, the 6th of February, 1851, that a young man opened his eyes and sat up to look about him. He had the day before driven a herd of fifty bullocks from the station of Mr. Roadknight, thus far on his way towards his own residence in the country, between Lake Corangamite and Mount Gellibrand. The morning was hushed and breathless. Instead of that bracing chill with which the Australian lodger-out-of-doors generally wakes up, Robert Paterson found the perspiration standing thick on his face, and he felt a strange longing for a deep breath of fresh air. But motion there was none, except in the little creek which trickled with a fresh and inviting aspect at a few yards from him. All else around him hung, as it were, a leaden, a deathlike heaviness. Not a bough nor a blade of grass was moved by the air. The trees stood inanimately moody and sullen. He cast his eyes through the gloomy shadow beneath them, and a sultry suffocating density seemed to change the atmosphere. The sky above him was dimmed by a grey haze. . . . But the whole troop—cattle, man, and horse—went slowly and soberly along, as if they were oppressed by a great fatigue, or the extreme exhaustion of famine. The forest closed in upon them, and they proceeded along a narrow track, flanked on each side by tall and densely growing trees; the creeping vines making of the whole forest one intricate impenetrable scene. All was hushed as at midnight. No bird enlivened the solitude by its cries, and they had left the little stream. Suddenly there came a puff of air, but it was like the air from the jaws of a furnace, hot, dry, withering in its very touch. The young settler looked quickly in the direction from which it came, and instantly shouted to the cattle before him in a wild, abrupt, startling shout, swung aloft the stock-whip which he held in his hand, and brought it down with the report of a pistol, and the sharp cut as of a knife, on the rear of a huge bullock just before him. . . . Louder and louder, wilder and more fiercely shouted the squatter, and dashed his horse forward over fallen trees, through crashing thickets, first on one side of the road and then on the other. Crack, crack went the stinging, slashing whip; loud was the bark of dogs; and the mob of cattle rushed forward at headlong speed. The young man gazed upwards, and through the only narrow opening of the

forest, saw strange volumes of smoke rolling southward. Hotter, hotter, stronger, and more steadily came the wind. 'God have mercy!' he exclaimed; 'a bush fire! and in this thick forest!' What a scene! The woods were flaming and crackling in one illimitable conflagration. The wind dashing from the north in gusts of inconceivable heat, seemed to sear the very face, and shrivel up the lungs. The fire leaped from tree to tree, flashing and roaring along with the speed and destructiveness of lightning. On it flew, fast as the fleetest horse could gallop; and consuming acres of leaves in a moment, still remained to rage and roar amongst the branches, and in the hollow stems of ancient trees. There was a sound as of thunder mingled with the crash of falling trees, and the wild cries of legions of birds of all kind, which fell scorched, and blackened, and dead, to the ground. When the wind veered, the reek driven backward revealed a most amazing sight. The blazing skirts of the forests; huge isolated trees, glaring red; standing columns of fire; here, a vast troop of wild horses with flying manes and tails, rushing with thundering hoofs over the plain; there, herds of cattle running with bloodshot eyes and hanging tongues, they knew not whither, from the fire; troops of kangaroos leaping frantically across the rider's path, their hair singed, and giving out strongly the stench of fire; birds of all kinds and colours shrieking piteously as they drove wildly by, and yet seeing no spot of safety; thousands of sheep standing huddled in terror on the scorched flats, with singed wool, deserted by their shepherds, who had fled for their lives."

Such was Black Thursday. Robert Paterson escaped; but his herd was consumed. He, however, was not the only sufferer; many farms and stations having been burnt and depopulated, and many shepherds and overseers having perished in the heart of the flaming forest, from which there was no escape.

The hero of this matter-of-fact romance is Charles Fitzpatrick, whom we have already introduced to the reader. He is ever active in hunting and shooting, riding across country, looking after the overseers at remote stations, and ascertaining the condition of the flocks and herds in different parts of the estate. Sometimes he visits distant districts, and as we journey with him, we pass through a wilderness of beauty where hill and plain, rock and forest, river and torrent, storm and darkness, are happily blended to paint and vivify the picture of Australian scenery, and the dangers which encompass the lonely traveller on his path. In one of these excursions, Charles becomes bewildered in the forest; a storm drives furiously against him, causing him to lose the track, at all times undefined; whilst the darkness, deepened by the shadows of a primeval forest, obscures still more the direction he was taking. At length the clouds break; the wind which roared through the branches of

the spacious gum-tree, blows more temperately; a light is visible in the distance; he approaches, finds a squatter's hut, which he mistakes for the one to which he was bound:—

“‘How is this,’ he said. ‘It is odd I don’t seem to know this place; my head must be turned.’ He entered and stood amazed. Round a noble blazing fire of logs sat a gentleman, two ladies, and two boys; but they were not the Metcalles. They were utter strangers. At the sight of him they all rose. The gentleman was a stoutish man, of apparently fifty. ‘Come in, sir, come in; what a night for you! Why you must be literally drowned. Let me pull away your outer garments.’ ‘But first,’ said Charles, in some confusion, ‘pray tell me where I am; I thought I was at Moolap.’ ‘Moolap! that’s a dozen miles up the river! But no wonder you missed your way in such a storm. Give me hold of your water-proof.’ Charles stripped himself of his oilskin and his dripping hat, and stood there a handsome and gentlemanly youth, but still with a puzzled look. Freed from his outer garments, and a seat placed for him by the fire, he saw that the ladies were mother and daughter; the mother a very fine, kind-looking woman, and the daughter a very fine, handsome girl. The two boys, of apparently twelve and fourteen, stood and looked at the guest in silence. ‘But where, then, am I?’ asked Charles, ‘if I may ask?’ ‘Why,’ said the gentleman, ‘you are at Bongubine, at Peter Martin’s, and very welcome there too. Sara, my dear, get tea, and let us have some good steaks; I have no doubt this gentleman will be ready for them after his ride.’ But as he spoke Charles started up. The strangest astonishment was in his face. He coloured scarlet, looked at one, and then at the other. Mr. Peter Martin! Mr. Peter Martin in this country! Mr. Peter Martin!—the man of all others that his father detested; the man whom Charles from his birth had been brought up to regard as the greatest and most persevering enemy of his family,—the man whom to leave behind was the one reconciling idea of his father in quitting England for this far-off country! And he here! come like a ghost to haunt their steps, to trouble their repose, to destroy the whole charm of this south-land life! ‘Excuse me,’ said Charles, stammering, and hardly knowing what he did,—“excuse me, I cannot stay.’ ‘What’s amiss?’ said Mr. Peter Martin. ‘What ails you, young man? Why, you have lost your wits in the storm. Go out to-night! not for worlds! It is madness!’ ‘No matter; give me my coat; I *must* go.’ ‘But why, nian?’—but why?’ exclaimed the squatter, vehemently, and as if at once astonished and insulted. ‘Why?’ said Charles, ‘because you are Mr. Peter Martin, and I am Charles Fitzpatrick.’ ‘So—o,’ said the squatter, stepping back in astonishment, and gazing fixedly at Charles,—‘so—o, that is it?’ Charles saw the ladies at once rise, colour excessively, and tremble with agitation as they gazed at him. They looked confounded with surprise. ‘Charles Fitzpatrick!’ again exclaimed Mr. Martin. ‘That is extraordinary. I can understand your feelings; but a word! You look upon me as the enemy of your house; I am

its firmest friend ; I always have been ; I always will be, and that one day, and not a distant day now, both you and your father will acknowledge. And now mark ! I am a positive man ; your father knows that, and you must now know it. You will sit down quietly to-night. If you were my enemy, or I yours, I would set open the door and say, Go, and perish ! But as I am your friend, I say you shall stay here till morning ; I admit of no contradiction. Charles Fitzpatrick, look on these ladies ; do they look like enemies—like bad people ? They are your truest, kindest friends ; and whatever I look like, I am the same.’”

Charles is prevailed upon to stay, and makes the acquaintance of Mrs., and especially Miss Martin, who becomes the heroine of the story. Wilful and obstinate, however, is the father of Fitzpatrick when he finds that his son has received the hospitality of his supposed, avowed, and most determined enemy.

Many incidents occur between this interview and the *dénouement* of the novel ; new and varied characters are introduced upon the stage ; new scenes are visited ; we have a peep at life at the Diggings ; we have a glorious glimpse of the “Apostle of the Wilderness,” as Anthony Pennicket—the man who first devoted himself to the work of carrying the consolations of the Gospel into the bosom of the bush-land, and keeping alive in the hearts of a scattered and isolated population the sentiment of religion and the love of a crucified Saviour—was called ; colonial crime, law, and justice, are strikingly portrayed ; whilst adventures of every kind give a kaleidoscopic interest to the whole narrative. Truly touching are the stories of the “New Squatter and the Old ;” and though of a different kind, the history of the “Melbourne Merchant” furnishes an encouraging picture of the struggles which a new settler had to encounter during hard times, and the success with which his patience and perseverance were crowned.

On the accessories of this narrative we have not thought proper to dwell. Of course, the usual amount of love-making takes place, and gives a pleasing interest to the series of Australian sketches which these familiar and heart-stirring episodes characterize and animate, or rather, perhaps, to tell the truth, around which they are hung—the tale being simply the silken string upon which to append the novel and instructing *tableaux*. The perplexity of Charles Fitzpatrick with regard to his love affair, gives a seasonable zest to the spirit of the romance, the termination of which, and other little mysteries, we give in Mr. Howitt’s own words :—

“‘Sir,’ said Mr. Fitzpatrick to Mr. Peter Martin,—they had met, under peculiar circumstances, Dr. Spenser Grayson, an intimate of the Tallangetta family, having been arrested by Mr. Martin, as a

robber in disguise, and a spy upon the household,—‘you are, of course, prepared to prove all this.’ ‘Oh, most amply prepared! Listen, Sir Thomas.’ ‘I beg, Mr. Martin, you will forego that title; I do not yet know that it is mine; I do not use it, and I count it in those who do simply a mockery.’ ‘Sir Thomas,’ continued Mr. Martin, ‘I know you by no other title; I have never acknowledged it in any other man, and I never will. Listen; in a few words I will tell you what concerns you on this point. From the hour you set foot on this ground your steps have been dogged, and your return to your native land withstood, if necessary, by your death and the death of your son. Mr. Patrick Fitzpatrick, the successor of your title and estate, hired a man called Mosillier, a Swiss, whom you once exposed and punished for fraud, to follow you here. He was commissioned to commit no violence, except in case you or your son contemplated a return to England. Then was selected and sent out that serpent who has found his way into your very family; and, under the title of a naturalist, into that of many others. A lucky accident has brought to light, and to an end, this villany.’ When they had withdrawn, Mr. Martin said, ‘Sir Thomas, it has long been my misfortune to stand in a hostile position to you. I will go no further than is necessary into this unhappy history, because it can do no good; and, happily, I hold the key to the whole, and, as I believe, the key to perfect concord and to your full restoration to fortune and title, in my hand.’ The astonishment of the whole company was unbounded. He continued, ‘Your mother and my mother were sisters—dear sisters. When my mother died early, your mother behaved to me as to a son. She always feared what has come to pass—the waste of your fortune, the loss of your title and estate. For some time before she died she had the information, the ambassador being dead and his chaplain not findable, that Patrick Fitzpatrick treated her marriage as apochryphal, and would some day attempt to secure the estate. She bound me by an oath to take no part, should such circumstances arise, till you were thoroughly cured by everything of your ruinous passion for the turf. There you have the secret of my standing aloof, and of never assisting you during your trials by any offer of my ample means. Well, here you are; your fortune, your title, are usurped by another; and as for you, I rejoice to say it, I am persuaded that you are thoroughly cured of your fatal passion. Your mother’s whole plan is accomplished. I, therefore, now put into your hand the sealed packet of your mother, and I shall be greatly disappointed and deceived if it do not contain the long vainly-sought certificate of your parents’ marriage.’ ”

The packet is opened, and of course contains the much-desired document; the chaplain also comes forward in the person of a free and easy squatter; there is now no impediment to the *fiançailles* of Charles with the daughter of Peter Martin; preparations are made for returning to England, and reclaiming the usurped title and estates; everything terminates

as happily as heart can wish; and all goes merry as a marriage bell.

On two or three occasions in the course of the narrative, we are presented with specimens of spiritualistic manifestations, the "mediums" being a Dr. Woolston and a Mr. Flavel, who, by-the-bye, proves to be heir to a lordly title, and a good match for Georgina Fitzpatrick. The psychological phenomena introduced into a romance like the present afford that amount of mystery which the apparition and declarations of ghosts, or the predictions of gypsies, gave to the romances of the last century. We, however, withhold our confession of belief in these manifestations for several reasons. First, in all ages, not only individuals but whole tribes have been subject to delusions of a peculiar and apparently supernatural kind; secondly, because we think spiritual communications of the kind recorded are inconsistent with the actual dispensation and superintending providence of God, at least as revealed to us in His government of the world; and thirdly, because, hitherto, we have seen no corresponding good result from the experiments said to have been performed. If any benefit had accrued to society or individuals from the reported phenomena, or did we see the probability of any good resulting from them, we might be induced at least to yield greater credence to the accounts we have heard; but until then we are constrained to acknowledge that we see no adequate cause for the effects said to be produced. The spiritualists, however, have an opportunity of increasing their reputation and creating converts. The public has been thrown into a state of extraordinary alarm and excitement by the perpetration of a most horrible and revolting murder. Let these pretenders to supernatural knowledge clear up the mystery of the Waterloo Bridge affair.

Quarterly Review of American Literature.

IN accordance with an intimation given in our report of American Literature for May, we now resume and conclude our account of the literary and scientific associations of the United States.

The Fine Arts, which are an essential element in civilization, are as yet in their incipient state, but are every year receiving more encouragement.

The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts received its charter in 1806, and has published four volumes relating to the objects of the society.

The American Academy of Fine Arts was formed at New York in 1808, and is supported entirely by artists.

The National Academy of Design was instituted in 1826, and is sustained by amateurs of the fine arts, and is doing much towards the advancement of the great object of its original formation. It is located in New York. Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, whose successful experiments in subjugating the elements to the service of man have given him an enduring fame, is president of this institution.

The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia was formed in 1812. The attention of the society is devoted to the following subjects, viz, zoology, ornithology, ichthyology, conchology, herpetology, entomology, botany, geology, and mineralogy. The collections on all these subjects are exceedingly valuable. The academy possesses the richest library of natural history in the United States. It has published twenty-seven volumes of original and important matter. In 1817, the society commenced the publication of the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences*; and in 1841, another periodical, entitled *Proceedings of the Academy*, which are still continued. The society possesses a large and beautiful building in the city of Philadelphia.

The Literary and Philosophical Society of New York was formed in 1815, and has published two quarto volumes of transactions. The Hon. William A. Duer, LL.D., is president.

The Maryland Academy of Sciences and Literature was established at Baltimore in 1821. It has a valuable collection of minerals.

The Franklin Society for the purpose of Promoting Investigation in Natural Science was formed at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1821.

The Historical Societies have exerted an important agency in collecting from various sources ancient acts and documents, which will be of great value to future historians. In addition to those named in our former report, we mention the following, which deserve a place in this notice:—

The Maine Historical Society was incorporated by the legislature of the state in 1822, and Governor Albion R. Parris was chosen its first president. The object of the society is to collect and preserve whatever “may tend to explain and illustrate any department of civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history.” In 1831, the society published a volume of valuable historical matter, but there is still much of deep interest undeveloped relating to the settlement of Maine; its sufferings from Indian and French depredation; the language, religion, and almost entire extinction of the Indian tribes, which are now fast vanishing from the face of the earth,—all of which furnish an ample field for fresh contributions to American history and antiquities.

The Rhode Island Historical Society obtained a charter from the legislature of the state in 1822. The first president was Governor James Fenner, LL.D., and its first secretary, Hon. William R. Staples, who was one of its principal founders. The society has a handsome building in the Egyptian style of architecture, with a library and cabinet; the latter containing some curious specimens of the tools and warlike instruments of the American Indians. The society has published five volumes of collections, the first con-

taining Roger Williams's "Key to the Indian Language." Several distinguished gentlemen, both in America and in Europe, are honorary members. It has been one of the most efficient institutions of the kind, and we have reason to hope that its labours will continue to be honourable to its members and useful to the public.

The New Hampshire Historical Society was incorporated in 1823, and has published six volumes of collections. In Vol. V., many of our readers may be gratified to know there is a memoir of Hanserd Knollys. Great credit is due in the preparation of all these volumes to the accurate and laborious investigations of the late John Farmer, Esq., the corresponding secretary.

The Connecticut Historical Society, located at Hartford, received its act of incorporation from the state legislature in 1825. The present presiding officer is the Hon. Thomas Day, and the Hon. Henry Barnard, LL.D., is the corresponding secretary. The attention of the society has been directed principally to the collection of historical materials rather than to their publication, but it is now issuing a series of volumes under the title of the "Connecticut Historical Collections." From the indefatigable secretary of the society and its active members, much is anticipated in bringing to light interesting memorials of the early history of one of the oldest New England colonies.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania was established at Philadelphia in 1825, and William Rawle, LL.D., was its first president. It has published three volumes.

Some other historical societies exist of more recent formation, but they have not yet published much. Among others are, the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the Michigan Historical Society, the Indiana Historical Society, the Virginia Historical and Philosophical Society, the Kentucky Historical Society, the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society, the Georgia Historical Society, the Illinois Literary and Historical Society, the New Jersey Historical Society, and the Maryland Historical Society. The last-named society was founded in 1844, and has an excellent library, and the collection of MSS. is peculiarly valuable and well arranged. Its collection of documents, illustrating the early history of the state, has lately been increased by a munificent gift from George Peabody, Esq., of London, of a series of abstracts from documents in Her Majesty's State Paper Office, of great interest and value to the historian.

The Boston Society of Natural History was incorporated in 1831. It has published three octavo volumes, of 500 pages each, of very interesting matter.

The American Statistical Association, located at Boston, was organized in 1839, and incorporated by the legislature in 1841. The objects of the society are to collect, preserve, and diffuse statistical information in the different departments of human knowledge. It has stated meetings every month. As yet it has published little, but it is increasing in efficiency and usefulness.

The National Institute, at Washington, the seat of government,

was organized in May, 1840, for the promotion of science and the useful arts, and to establish a national museum of natural history. It has been incorporated by Congress. The President of the United States is patron *ex officio*; all the secretaries and other heads of departments of the general government, are, for the time, with their consent, directors of the institution. Sections were planned of geology and mineralogy, of chemistry, of the application of science to the arts, of literature and the fine arts, of natural history, of agriculture, of astronomy, of American history and antiquities, of geography and natural philosophy, and of natural and political sciences. President John Quincy Adams, and the distinguished philologist, Peter S. Duponceau, among others, took an active interest in its proceedings. Francis Markoe, jun., Esq., was the early and efficient corresponding secretary. Peter Force, Esq., well known by his valuable "Documentary History of the Origin and Progress of the United States," now holds the office of president. The present corresponding secretary is Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Esq. The museum of natural history would do honour to some of the older societies of Europe. The publications of the institute contain many elaborate papers, which evince the growing activity of the country in the departments of science. The publication of a new series of Proceedings was commenced in 1855, and valuable papers have been recently read at the meetings, which are held once a fortnight from October to May.

The American Ethnological Society was formed at New York in 1842. Its principal originators were the Hon. Albert Gallatin, so well known as a statesman, a diplomatist, and a scholar, and John R. Bartlett, Esq. Mr. Gallatin was the first president, and Mr. Bartlett, for several years, the able corresponding secretary. The society has published three volumes of Transactions, full of interest. The principle articles in Vol. I. are Notes on the Semi-civilized Nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America; An Account of Ancient Remains in Tennessee; On the Recent Discoveries of Himyaritic Inscriptions; Account of the Punico-Libyan Monument at Dugga, and the Remains of an Ancient Structure at Bless, near the Site of Ancient Carthage, &c. Vol. II. contains—Hale's Indians of North-west America, and Vocabularies of North America; Observations on the Aboriginal Monuments of the Mississippi Valley; View of the Ancient Geography of the Arctic Regions of America; Grammatical Sketch of the Language of the Mosquito Indians, &c. In Vol. III. we have—The Creek and Cherokee Indians; Archaeology and Ethnology of Nicaragua; The Aborigines of the Isthmus of Panama; Antiquities of Cuba, &c. While various gentlemen have contributed valuable documents to the published volumes, especial credit is due to Mr. Gallatin; his paper on the semi-civilized nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru, comparing their languages with those of the Northern tribes of American aborigines, is curious and of great value.

The American Oriental Society was formed at Boston in 1842, and incorporated by the legislature of the state in 1843. The objects

contemplated by the society are the cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian languages. The Hon. John Pickering, LL.D., was mainly instrumental in founding the society, and became the first president. On the occasion of its first annual meeting, he delivered a learned address on the languages, literature, science, and history of Oriental nations, which was published in the journal of the society. Mr. Pickering was widely known as a scholar of profound and various erudition, and as a philologist he had no superior in America. He enjoyed the well-earned honour of being made a member of various learned societies in his native country and in Europe. His pursuits as a scholar, and his publications, embraced a wide range, and have had an important influence on the literature of the United States. The society has four stated meetings in a year. Its publications now amount to four volumes octavo. The principal articles in Vol. I. are—Memoir on the History of Buddhism; The History of Paper Money in China; China, its Population and Trade; A Treatise on Arab Music; Notes on Arakan; Recent Progress of Oriental Researches; Comparative Vocabularies of some of the Principal Negro Dialects of Africa; The Zulu Language; Et Tabary's Conquest of Persia by the Arabs; On the Identification of the Signs of the Persian Cuneiform Alphabet, &c. Vol. II. contains—Shabbathai Levi and his Followers; Account of a Japanese Romance; Journal of a Tour from Oroomiah to Mosul, through the Koordish Mountains; Characteristics of the Peshito-Syriac Version of the New Testament; Translation of Two Unpublished Arabic Documents relating to the Doctrines of the Islamites and other Batmian Sects, &c. In Vol. III. are—Life of Gaudama, a translation from the Burmese; Catalogue of all Works known to exist in the Armenian Language of a date earlier than the Seventeenth Century; Notes on the Tamil Language, &c. Vol. IV. contains—A Synopsis of the Mystical Philosophy of the Hindûs, translated from the Tamil; On the History of the Vedic Texts; The State and Prospects of the English Language in India; On the Karens; Chinese Local Dialects reduced to Writing, &c. These volumes present a series of original contributions on Oriental literature which will be of permanent value to the learned in this department of knowledge.

The Smithsonian Institution deserves especial notice in this place, as it was founded by James Smithson, an English gentleman, who bequeathed his entire property, more than half a million of dollars, "to the United States of America, to found at Washington, under the name of the Smithsonian Institution, an establishment for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." Mr. Smithson was educated at Oxford, where he distinguished himself by his proficiency in chemistry, and received an honorary degree at the University in 1786. He subsequently contributed a number of scientific papers to the Royal Society, of which he was a member, and to the *Annals of Philosophy*, which were published. The trust was accepted by the United States' government, and on August 10, 1846, an Act was passed by Congress constituting the President, Vice-President, all the Members of the Cabinet, the Chief Jus-

tice of the Supreme Court, the Commissioner of the Patent Office, and Mayor of Washington, and such persons as they might elect, honorary members, an "establishment" under the name of the "Smithsonian Institution for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men." The management of the financial and other affairs is vested in a Board of Regents and a committee chosen from amongst the most eminent, scientific, and literary men in the country. The members and honorary members hold stated and special meetings for the supervision of the affairs of the Institution. The principal acting officer of the Institution is the secretary, who has the general superintendence of its literary and scientific operations. The edifice of the Institution was completed in the spring of 1855, and is one of the greatest attractions of the metropolis. It is in the Lombard style of architecture, and presents a noble appearance. It is four hundred and twenty-six feet in length, and of irregular width and height. The cost of the building, including furniture, is estimated at about three hundred thousand dollars. The grounds which surround it are extensive. The original sum bequeathed is to remain for ever as a permanent fund. The entire income, more than thirty thousand dollars a year, is divided into two equal parts, one of which is devoted to the increase and diffusion of knowledge, by means of original research and publications; and the other to be applied, in accordance with the requirements of the Act of Congress, to the gradual formation of a library, a museum, and a gallery of art. It is proposed "to stimulate research by offering rewards, for original memoirs on all subjects of investigation;" the memoirs to be published in quarto, under the title of "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge." No memoir on a subject of physical science is to be published, "which does not furnish a positive addition to human knowledge resting on original research;" and all unverified speculations are to be rejected. A portion of the annual income is appropriated to observations and experiments in the natural sciences, investigations in statistics, history, and ethnology, &c.; the results to be published in quarto. For the diffusion of knowledge, it is proposed "to publish a series of reports, giving an account of the new discoveries in science, and of the changes made from year to year in all branches of knowledge not strictly professional," and also to publish occasionally separate treatises of general interest. The library is to contain a complete collection of the transactions and proceedings of all the learned societies of the world, the more important current periodical publications, and works in bibliography. The beneficial influence of this institution upon the world at large has already been felt. It has printed and circulated seven large volumes in quarto, enriched with numerous plates, and a number of interesting volumes in octavo. The first of the series of original memoirs was the quarto volume on the "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," published in 1848. This has since been followed by others, composed of papers from various eminent scholars of the United States, on special topics of astronomy, physical geography, paleontology, botany, philology, and other branches of science.

Fifteen hundred copies of each of the "Memoirs," forming the contributions, are printed, which are distributed to learned societies, public libraries, scientific institutions, &c., of North and South America, of Europe, and of the East. Gratuitous lectures of a popular character are delivered, during the winter, by some of the most distinguished literary and scientific men of the country. The Annual Reports of the Regents give an interesting account of the practical working of this important establishment. The secretary of the institution is Professor Joseph Henry, one of the most accomplished scientific men of the age, who was the first to apply the principle of magnetism as a motor, and has made many other valuable contributions to science.

Some other learned societies exist in the United States for the cultivation of literature, the sciences, and the arts. Among these are the American Association for the Advancement of Science, which has already published several volumes, and is prosecuting its labours with commendable zeal and success; the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina; the Albany Institute; the New York Lyceum of Natural History; the Philological Society at New Haven; the Franklin Institute of Pennsylvania; the New England Historic Genealogical Society at Boston; the American Geographical and Statistical Society at New York, and others of a similar description.

We have barely space to notice a few recent publications. Dr. Hitchcock's "Religious Truth, Illustrated from Science,"¹ is a collection of eleven public addresses and sermons which the author has delivered on public occasions in different parts of the United States. We find among them the address on his inauguration as President of Amherst College, entitled, the "Highest Use of Learning," which contains many striking thoughts expressed in a forcible and pleasing manner. In allusion to transcendentalism the author observes: "There is always in some minds, especially in youth, a wonderful charm in a philosophy that is esoteric. They love to believe themselves capable of discovering a hidden meaning in facts and principles, which the uninitiated cannot discover. A man of talents has only to be obscure in his style and meaning, in order to be regarded by a large proportion of the world, and among them not a few recently fledged literati, as very profound. On the contrary, that beautiful simplicity and clearness of style and thought which are the result of long and patient investigation, and which characterize the highest order of talent, are regarded by the same class as evidence of a superficial mind, and destitution of genius." The celebrated discourse on the "Religious Bearing of Man's Creation" was preached at Albany, New York, in 1856, during the session of the American Scientific Association. The author maintains that science as well as revelation teaches us that man was the last of the animals created; that he

¹ Religious Truth, Illustrated from Science: in Addresses and Sermons on Special Occasions. By Edward Hitchcock, D.D., LL.D., late President of Amherst College, and now Professor of Natural Theology and Geology. 12mo. Boston. 1857. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

was placed at the head of all creatures, and that his creation was a miraculous and unusually important event. After presenting the facts of revealed and natural religion respecting man's creation, he deduces a presumptive argument in favour of the Mosaic chronology. He refutes, in an ingenious manner, the arguments of atheists and pantheists, and presents a new argument for the Divine existence from the design everywhere apparent in nature, that the existing processes and races had a beginning, and draws from the whole subject a presumptive proof of the truth of revelation. In the address on the "Relations and Mutual Duties between the Philosopher and the Theologian," Professor Hitchcock asserts that the facts and principles of science, to an unprejudiced mind, are favourable to piety, and form a vast store-house for the use of natural theology; but the cultivation of science, without the restraints of religion, often proves very disastrous. He affirms that the principles of theology are in harmony with those of philosophy, but the former develops principles which the sounding-line of the latter cannot reach, but as far as the two systems can be compared they coincide. And he justly says, that "we may be sure that whatever goes by the name of science which contradicts a fair and enlightened exhibition of revealed truth, is only false philosophy." Dr. Hitchcock has, at different times, rendered important service to the cause of science and religion by his valuable publications, and the field over which he ranges in this volume, is peculiarly fitted for the display of his highest gifts; and his reputation will be still further increased by this work.

Professor Turner's "Analysis and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,"² is a valuable contribution to the stores of Biblical criticism. The author has long been known as an exact critical scholar, and those who may differ from him in some of his theological opinions, will appreciate his candour, learning, and piety. Among the numerous important works he has given to the public, are "Biographical Notices of Jewish Rabbis;" "Thoughts on Scriptural Prophecy;" and a series of "Commentaries on the Hebrews, Romans, and Ephesians." In the work before us the analysis of the epistle is clear and comprehensive, and the author's commentary will afford facilities to students in their attempts to attain a critical knowledge of the Scriptures. The volume is characterized by manly independence of thought, is clear and logical in its arguments, and explains the text by making the Bible its own interpreter.

American works in biography are numerous, and many of them executed with judgment and ability. In this department of literature, we are pleased to find that Parsons's "Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart.,"³ has reached a second edition. Sir William Pepperell, the

² The Epistle to the Galatians, in Greek and English; with an Analysis and Exegetical Commentary. By Samuel H. Turner, D.D., Professor in the General Theological Seminary at New York. 8vo., pp. 98. New York. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

³ The Life of Sir William Pepperell, Bart.; the only native of New England created a Baronet during its connexion with the Mother Country. By Usher

renowned "Hero of Louisburg," was made a baronet of Great Britain, an honour never conferred on any other native of New England. Sir William's father was a native of Tavistock, Devon, and in early life emigrated to Kittery, Maine, where the son was born in 1696. Dr. Parsons has faithfully delineated the remarkable career of the son of an uneducated fisherman rising gradually by his genius, energy, and integrity of character, not only to opulence, but to the highest military honours. He was bred a merchant, and in 1727, was chosen one of his Majesty's council, to which he was annually re-elected until his death. In 1730, he was appointed Chief Justice, in which station he displayed firmness of principle, and distributed justice with impartiality. In the expedition against Louisburg, in 1745, he was commissioned by the governors of New England to command the troops, and soon forced the city to capitulate. For his distinguished services the king created him a baronet. He died at his seat in Kittery, Maine, in 1759, in the sixty-third year of his age. The work gives a detailed and authentic account of the siege and reduction of Louisburg, written by Sir William and other chief actors in the scene. The subject of this biography was distinguished for quickness of perception, force of thought, and decision of character. It was his practical knowledge of men, and their springs of action, "stimulated by aspirations for honourable fame and distinction, and sanctioned by an enlightened conscience and Christian principles, that crowned his career with unparalleled success." Every one may learn something from the perusal of his eventful life that will make them wiser and better men. The volume does credit to the author, who is widely known in his native country by his original contributions to medical science. We are gratified to see his able pen occasionally employed in other departments of literature.

Professor Loomis's work on the "Recent Progress of Astronomy, especially in the United States,"⁴ contains not only the latest discoveries, but descriptions of improved instruments and new observatories, and is enriched with plates. Professor Loomis is the author of several volumes and papers on mathematics and astronomy, and the present work is worthy of his scientific reputation.

Perry's "Expedition to Japan,"⁵ is an interesting narrative of the successful efforts to open that empire to the benefits of civilization. In this attractive volume we have a full and official record of the United States' expedition to that singular and hermetically sealed

Parsons. Second Edition, 12mo., pp. 356. New York. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Co.

⁴ The Recent Progress of Astronomy, especially in the United States. By Elias Loomis, LL.D., Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in the University of the City of New York. Third Edition, mostly re-written and much enlarged. 12mo., pp. 396. New York. 1856.

⁵ Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, performed in the years 1852, 1853, and 1854, by order of the Government of the United States, under the command of Commodore W. C. Perry, U.S.N. Compiled from the Original Notes and Journals of Commodore Perry, at his request, and under his supervision. By Francis L. Hawks, D.D. With numerous illustrations. 8vo., pp. 700. New York. 1856.

empire which has remained for centuries motionless amid the changes of the East. From the expulsion of the Jesuits and Portuguese traders more than two centuries ago, little, until recently, has been heard of this remarkable people. As Commodore Perry was not ambitious of being the historian of his own enterprise, at his request, and under his inspection, Dr. Hawks has arranged the materials, and collected the essential facts from the original notes and journals of the mission. The editor has performed his labour with the assiduity and intelligence to be expected from his strong interest in geographical, ethnological, and historical researches. Dr. Hawks, besides the narrative, has given us in an admirable introduction, a sketch of the history, productions, religion, and civil condition of Japan, and the previous attempts of the English, Dutch, Portuguese and Americans to keep open an intercourse with this isolated and mysterious country. Commodore Perry sailed for Japan, in the *Mississippi* steamship on the 24th of November, 1852; the other vessels being appointed to overtake him in the Eastern Seas. The narrative details in an agreeable manner whatever is worthy of observation at Madeira, the Canaries, St. Helena, the Cape, Mauritius, Ceylon, Singapore, and the Chinese stations on the voyage to Japan. In July, 1853, the squadron reached the forbidden land, and took up a position in the Bay of Yedo. Negotiations immediately commenced, and friendly communications opened with the natives. On the 4th of April, 1854, the treaty which Commodore Perry negotiated, was sent to the United States' government for ratification. By this treaty two ports, Simoda and Haladi, are thrown open for the American trade; and in case of distress or stress of weather, entrance for ships of the United States has been secured to all parts of Japan. We may hope that this treaty will be a first step towards opening that rich and curious group of islands in the East—which to Marco Polo was known as the Golden Zipangu—to the commerce of the civilized world.

Mrs. Sigourney's "*Past Meridian*"⁶ is a pleasing and graceful volume which cannot fail to gratify readers of taste. It gives interesting biographical sketches of good and happy old men, considers the duties of the aged, and the treatment they should receive at the hands of the young. The name of M^{rs}. Sigourney is familiar to many of our readers, and although she is now past the meridian of life, yet she manifests no disposition to lay aside her pen. Without engaging in the composition of any great work, she has been a contributor to various periodicals, and published more than forty volumes in a more permanent form, which do honour to herself, her sex, and country. Among these are "*Moral Pieces in Prose and Verse*;" "*Traits of the Aborigines*," an historical poem; "*A Sketch of Connecticut Forty Years since*;" "*Zinzendorf, and other Poems*;" "*Pocahontas, and other Poems*;" "*Pleasant Memories of Pleasant Lands*;" "*The Western Home, and other Poems*," &c. Her poetry possesses great sweetness and variety, and abounds in passages of

⁶ *Past Meridian*. By Mrs. L. M. Sigourney 12mo. Hartford. 1856.

earnest, vigorous thought. Her prose is animated and instructive, and all her works evince and inculcate warm benevolence and practical piety.

Brief Notices.

PSALMS AND HYMNS FOR PUBLIC, SOCIAL, AND PRIVATE WORSHIP. (The profits will be devoted to Widows and Orphans of Baptist Ministers and Missionaries). London: B. L. Green. 1857.

EVERY one must have felt the extreme inconvenience arising out of the use of two separate hymn-books, and one of these divided into four parts, in our Dissenting places of worship. But though all felt and lamented it, the present compilation is, we believe, the first designed to remedy it in the denomination for whose special use it is adapted. We very cordially welcome this volume, and we are bound to say that the selection of hymns is, on the whole, very judicious and comprehensive. It combines nearly all those of Watts's "Psalms and Hymns," which by general consent are used in public worship; the best from the "Selection" now in use, with additions from Montgomery and Conder, and many other authors not specified by name. The arrangement of the hymns is, generally speaking, excellent, though here and there we have noticed some that might occupy with more propriety a different position; the subjects are sufficiently varied to fit the volume in an eminent degree, according to the announcement on the title-page, for "public, private, and social worship." We can fully understand that the compilers must have found it no easy matter to prepare this volume for publication, and on that account would concede to them a large indulgence, for it would be simply impossible to satisfy the tastes and predilections of all in their selection of hymns. But while we would concede thus much in regard to their choice of hymns, we think they have unnecessarily laid themselves open to criticism in their alteration of not a few of them. Granting that compilers have the license of leaving out portions of the hymns they select (as, for example, the last verse of Watts, i. 15—"So Samson when his hair was lost," &c.), we must protest against tampering with the language of writers of established reputation, whether in "prose or rhyme." At all events, it should be distinctly indicated that the original compositions are "altered." Of the typographical execution of the specimen which has been sent us, we can speak in unqualified terms of approbation. It is beautifully printed, and the price is so low, that nothing short of a very extensive sale can render it available for the meritorious object to which the profits will be devoted. In the larger editions, which we presume will in due time appear, we should hope to find indexes of subjects and of texts; and in accordance with the remarks we have already made, we would suggest, that the names of the authors be

given, and that the hymns which have been altered should be distinguished (were it only by an asterisk), from those which are left in their integrity.

GNOMON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. By John Albert Bengel; now first translated into English; with Original Notes, Explanatory and Illustrative. Revised and Edited by Rev. Andrew R. Fausset, M.A., of Trinity College, Dublin. Vols. I. & III. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark 1857.

"*QUISQUIS in Scripturâ interpretanda aliquid navare vult, se ipse explorare debet, quo jure id faciat.*" ("Whosoever desires to render any help in interpreting Scripture, should examine himself, and ascertain by what right he does so.") It is to this profound consciousness of the responsibility resting upon him who would expound the Scriptures, that Bengel owes much of his excellence as a commentator. Few men were so well qualified for the task as he; for, combining the highest culture with the most child-like piety, his comments are distinguished by the accurate knowledge they display, and are, at the same time, imbued with the profoundest spirituality of mind. And it is this latter quality which constitutes his peculiar charm. He never forgets that the Word on which he is commenting, *is* the Word of God; and hence he avoids those two great stumbling-blocks of so many of our modern commentators—a rash speculation on the one hand, and an irreverent dogmatism on the other. There are few devout students of the Bible who have not long held Bengel in the highest estimation; nay, more, revered and loved him. It was not, however, without some apprehension for his reputation with English readers, that we saw the announcement of a translation of his work. We feared that his sentences, terse and condensed as they are, would necessarily lose much of their pointedness and force by being clothed in another garb. But we confess, gladly, to a surprise at the success the translators have achieved in preserving so much of the spirit of the original. We are bound to say that this first instalment, which contains the Gospels of Matthew and Mark (Vol. I.), and the Epistles to the Romans and the Corinthians (Vol. III.), is executed in the most scholar-like and able manner. The translation has the merit of being faithful and perspicuous. The spirited publishers have laid the students of the Bible under the deepest obligation; and they will, undoubtedly, receive the thanks of many for whom they have thus made Bengel accessible. Its publication will, we are confident, do much to bring back readers to the *devout* study of the Bible, and at the same time, prove one of the most valuable of exegetical aids. The "getting up" of these volumes, combined with their marvellous cheapness, cannot fail, we should hope, to command for them a large sale.

THE THREE TEMPLES OF THE ONE GOD. By Samuel Hinds, D.D., late Bishop of Norwich. Third Edition. 12mo. Pp. 127. London: Parker & Son.

THE lovers of Bishop Hinds will welcome this new edition of the "Three Temples." The contents of the book, the substance of which was delivered in two sermons preached before the University of

Oxford as far back as 1829, may be thus briefly indicated: "All revelation progressive, but especially that whereby God has revealed *Himself*. The three stages in this revelation,—why called temples? The proposed view of the three temples: 1st. Their dedication and the signs whereby they were declared to be the temples of God. 2nd. The resemblances and differences between them." But these resemblances and differences have respect to the dedication, materials, divine indwelling, services, duration, &c. It is needless for us to say that the three temples refer to the Jewish temple, the temple of Christ's body, and the spiritual temple of the church of Christ. The inquiry is exceedingly suggestive, and cannot fail to be interesting. But we are inclined to think that the author has rested his arguments for the proofs of the progressive character of revelation too much upon the externals of the several dispensations, and which are, strictly speaking, but accidentals, rather than on the spiritual truths which underlie these; and has not brought into sufficient prominence the coincident developments of the human mind; in other words, the adaptation of revelation to man's spiritual progress. But, withal, there is a healthful tone of earnestness about the book which will ensure for it a wide acceptance. Manifestly, it would be superfluous to say a word in commendation of any book of the excellent bishop's, and especially of one which has reached its third edition.

SEBASTOPOL; and other Poems. By E. Derry. London: Hall & Virtue. 1857.

It is the province of just criticism not to withhold censure where censure is due, nor to impart praise if praise be ill-merited. But sometimes the critic finds himself in the awkward predicament of having neither censure nor praise to convey; or, perhaps, he may have both to praise and to censure; and the reviewer of Mr. Derry's poems, we believe, must confess to being in some such position as the last described. He may commend the sentiments and the purport of the poems; but then he will have to regret that Mr. Derry has not understood better his vocation. His lines, though generally smooth, are occasionally harsh and rugged. They want, moreover, the fire of feeling and the colouring of fancy. In none of his pieces do we see the slightest indication of genius; the kindling and elevating element, so essential to real poetry, is altogether absent. "Sebastopol" drags tediously along through many sections, with an outline of the events of the late war, while the accessories are feebly filled in. Occasionally a line of less than ordinary weakness is met with, as—

"Still as they tread, they quail like quivering reeds;"

but this is counterbalanced by the mass of commonplace which the reader has to wade through. The minor poems do not interfere with the verdict we have passed on the *chef d'œuvre* of the volume; on the contrary, they tend strongly to confirm our opinion, if not to

raise a suspicion that Mr. Derry is not master of the English language. Take for example:—

“The grass recovered from her tread,
 Its *pressure* was so *small*;
 The motion of her body made
 A sudden *breeze to fall*,
 That stirred the bramble-leaves which there
 Composed a matted wall.”

Again:—

“Mute consternation chains their speech,
 As they stand round the corpse;
 The *bubbles* turn to icicles,
 Which from each forehead *drops*.”

Waiving the grammatical error, we presume that *drops* and *corpse* hardly rhyme.

THE PROGRESS OF BEING. Six Lectures on the True Progress of Man. By the Rev. D. Thomas, Stockwell, Editor of the *Homilist*, &c. Third Edition. London: Ward & Co.

“THE Progress of Being,” as Mr. Thomas informs us, is designed to be a sequel to “The Crisis of Being.” We feel that we cannot do a better service to our thoughtful young men than to recommend them to procure forthwith, if they have not already done so, these books, and studiously to read them. And we shall be much deceived if they do not rise from the perusal with their minds braced and strengthened for the contest of life. The author is one of the most vigorous and untrammelled thinkers of the present day; every page of these books bears testimony to his deep earnestness, and glows with healthful and invigorating thought. Some will probably miss the accustomed phraseology of the pulpit, but the author’s explanation is to be found in the preface to the present volume. He says, “There are two methods of presenting the Gospel; the one unfolds it as a system of doctrines, the other as a provision for souls;” and we need hardly add, that Mr. Thomas professes to have chosen the latter of these two methods. Now, while we do not object to—on the other hand, extremely like Mr. Thomas’s method—yet we would submit to him whether he has fairly stated these two methods; for his language seems to imply that a system of doctrines can have no provision for souls, and, of course, that the provision for souls can have no doctrines lying at its basis. Now, must not all teaching have its foundation in *doctrines*? We are sure that there are doctrines on which “The Progress of Being” rests, and doctrines which few men would contend for with more earnestness than Mr. Thomas, and without which no one knows better than himself that the “progress of being” would be a mere fiction of the brain. We would have it noted, that our objection is not to Mr. Thomas’s *method*, but to his *statement* of that method. We hope that the third edition will obtain a yet wider circulation than the two first.

ANALYTICAL EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLE OF PAUL THE APOSTLE TO THE ROMANS.
By John Brown, D.D. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Son. 1857.

THE world is full of Commentaries on the Scriptures, written by men of all creeds, in all ages of the church, from the time of Origen to the present day. Of these, the greater number are of no use, except that they are occasionally consulted by the laborious scholar and inquisitive theologian. The best expositions of Holy Writ are those which are composed on particular books. When a divine undertakes to write on the whole Bible, he feels that he has engaged in an herculean task,—that he has not sufficient time and learning for the whole; and he, therefore, passes over a good deal of the ground in a superficial manner. On the other hand, the commentator who devotes himself to one portion of Scripture, can go deliberately to work, and may expect to finish the undertaking in a reasonable time. He can collect his materials and concentrate his thoughts on one object. He can search out everything in a thorough manner, allowing himself time to render his performance as perfect as possible. In this way we account for the excellence of such works as Campbell on the Gospels, Titman's Gospel by John, Henderson's Isaiah, M'Lean's Hebrews, &c. The work before us is of this kind. The learned and pious author has calmly girded himself to the execution of his project, and has given himself sufficient leisure to sift and examine everything, and call in to his aid all the helps and lights necessary. The Epistle to the Romans possesses a peculiar character among the books of Divine revelation,—a character shared by no other except the Epistle to the Hebrews. While in others, the truths of our holy religion are scattered abroad over the wide fields of revelation, here they are marshalled, harmonized, and reduced to system. Starting with the great doctrine of the ground of a sinner's acceptance with God, he shows how that one grand and simple principle spreads itself out into the entire body of gospel truth, providing for present sanctification and future glorification, as well as for pardon and peace with God. In this book, we not only learn the truths of the Bible, but we perceive them in their connexion, relative bearing, and harmony, as discoveries of the Divine character, and developments of the principles of God's moral government. We can conceive of no better method of enlightening and strengthening the mind on sacred subjects than the frequent and familiar study of this portion of the Divine Word, not taking detached passages as mottoes for subject, but going through the whole in regular order, tracing first principles to their legitimate consequences. The author brings to his work competent learning, powers of discrimination, and sound reasoning; and the result is a volume which we think will be of great service at the present time. The principal feature of the attempt is the patient and thorough investigation of the import of particular expressions, without which all such performances must be unsatisfactory. The apostle so often uses words and verbal *formulae* in senses so different from what is usual—so Hebraistic and Hellenistic—that without such learned explanation, the writings of the apostle would

be quite unintelligible. The writer, be he who he may, who is not prepared to meet these philological difficulties, might as well spare the labour of explaining the meaning of Scripture. If he is right, he is so only by accident, or because he happens to follow a safe guide. If we were disposed to find fault with the exegetical analysis of our erudite preacher, we would say that it is in certain parts too prolix. A more condensed form of exhibiting the results of his learning would be more pleasing to the student, because more tangible and more easily retained in the memory. Instead of noticing so many interpretations of a passage and refuting them, would it not be better to go at once to the right view, and support it with proper reasons? Perhaps, however, the imperfection of which we complain is inseparable from the plan and object of the writer. As specimens of the great ability with which Dr. Brown handles his subject, we might point to the much disputed seventh chapter,—the treatment of which to our mind is most satisfactory; the section relative to election,—a still more disputed paragraph; the remarks upon the rejection of the Jews and their final conversion; and the discussion of terms of communion. Whatever be the tenets of the Presbyterian body to which our expositor belongs, he clearly commits himself to the position taken up by all open communionists when he says, "Those whom Christ appears to have received are to be received by us; and received by us because we think they have been received by Him."—P. 554. We think this work is seasonable and opportune, as well as excellent. Tacitly, though not ostensibly, it cuts away the roots of the two great heresies of our times—Romanism and Scepticism. The young divine who treads the middle path with our author, will be in no danger of falling into either of these extremes. On the one hand, the doctrines of free justification through the atonement of Christ producing, as he shows it does produce, sanctification of spirit, cannot coexist with the Romish doctrine of the magical power of ordinances; and on the other hand, the humiliating doctrine of universal sin and sovereign grace which it involves, is in perfect antagonism with the pride of Scepticism. The mind that embraces the one must repudiate the other.

AMERICA, AND AMERICAN METHODISM. By the Rev. Frederick J. Jobson. 8vo. London: James S. Virtue. 1857.

THE Rev. F. J. Jobson and the Rev. Dr. Hannah were delegated by the Wesleyan Conference to represent the Methodist Churches in Britain, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church of America, held at Indianapolis, in May, 1856. During his absence, which comprised something less than twelve weeks, Mr. Jobson wrote long and circumstantial letters upon all he saw and did to Mrs. Jobson, whom family affliction detained at home. The importunity of friends—the old story—led to the publication of these letters, and to the addition of one more book to the number-

less volumes of American travels which have already appeared before the public. The book begins with the usual profession of impartiality, the accustomed reprobation of the caricatures of American society presented by most writers, and the proper determination to aid in dispelling the false views derived from such sources. The prominence given to Methodism being excepted, we do not know in what particular this volume differs from the stereotyped model. One of the best books we ever read upon America was written by an author who had never left his home in Europe; and, really, we do not know that there is any necessity to travel so far if any one wishes to write a book like Mr. Jobson's. Do not let us be too severe. There are four letters on the history of early Methodism in America, and on the labours of its early preachers, which, for the interest of the subject, redeem all the rest. We can never weary of reading the history of those devoted pioneers; and although we are familiar with the romantic and spirit-stirring tales of their great deeds in the pages of Dr. Bangs, we are glad to refresh our memory of them, and shall be pleased if many, with ourselves, catch from the narrative some new impulse, although we should only remotely follow these great men in their self-sacrifice and zeal. Mr. Jobson gives also a very succinct narrative of the proceedings of the Conference, and presents the interesting and valuable statistics of the progress of Methodism furnished to the meeting. Comprising all the branches of the Methodist church in the United States, it now numbers 1,600,000 full-church members, and has under its religious instruction 6,000,000 of the population. With all this, and thankfully recognising the greatness of the work which Methodism in America has done and is doing, we doubt whether Mr. Jobson's conclusion represents the Methodist Church faithfully, when he describes it as "having the *prestige* among the churches which the Church of England has in our own country." For our own part, we are glad to think that it does not enjoy so dangerous a *prestige*. Mr. Jobson dwells also upon the subject of slavery, and the Methodist church in relation to it. He has been sorely condemned by some for the course adopted by his church, and by the Conference of 1856, in relation to this question. We confess we do not sympathize with his condemners. In his general chapters on America, there are many slips, which had he known his subject a little better, Mr. Jobson would certainly have avoided. Why does he insist on mis-spelling Massachusetts? Why write "bunkem" for "buncombe?" Whence has he derived the notion that creoles are of negro relationship? He meets "mulattoes and creoles" in Washington. Of Washington, also, he says: "Here slavery has its mart, its auction-block, &c." If the law which forbids the public sale of slaves in the district of Columbia be thus infringed, we are surprised at the publicity which Mr. Jobson's words would imply. What zealous Democrat has cozened the good man into a belief that the Democratic party represents principles similar to those of our "moderate reformers?" Probably the same who in his enumeration of the political divisions in the States, omitted the Republican party, which, at the time of Mr. Jobson's

visit, was assuming so much importance. He innocently writes down, therefore, what he has doubtless been told,—that the three principal parties are the Whigs, the Democrats, and the Democrat-Republicans, or Loco-Focos! Besides these errors, where has Mr. Jobson learnt that Baltimore is the capital of Maryland? What makes him think that in housekeeping, money will purchase more in America than with us? Why does he speak of "*Mrs. Wetherell*, the authoress of 'Queechy,'" not only assuming the young lady's *nom de plume*, but adding thereto a matronly title, which she would certainly repudiate? A little more care would doubtless have made this book acceptable to a large class of readers, especially to those connected with the Methodist Church. Throughout, Mr. Jobson is a pleasant companion; and whatever the execution, none can question the good intentions with which he sat down to write his travels.

Books Received.

- Allon's (Rev. Henry) *Indian Rule and Responsibility: a Sermon.* 24 pp. Aylott & Co.
 American Bible Union's Translations: *Thessalonians*, 73 pp. Trübner & Co.
 Anti-Slavery Advocate, for October. Wm. Tweedie.
 Atonement (The) Discourses by Bp. Gloucester, Dr. Chalmers, Butler, Robt. Hall. 108 pp. R. Tract Soc.
 British Land Birds. 282 pp. Religious Tract Society.
 British Quarterly Review. No. LII., October. Jackson & Walford.
 Bryce's (A. H.) *Notes on Virgil.* (Glasgow University Classics.) 305 pp. Griffin & Co.
 Cassell's (John) *Art Treasures' Exhibition*, for October. Kent & Co.
 Cole's (Alfred W.) *Lorimer Littlegood.* Parts III. and IV. James Blackwood.
 Commentary Wholly Biblical. Part XII. Bagster & Sons.
 Congregational Pulpit, for September. No. XXX. Judd & Glass.
 Cope's (Rev. Dr. R.) *Pietas Privata.* 120 pp. Judd & Glass.
 Cornwallis's (Kinahan) *Yarra Yarra, or the Wandering Aborigine.* 188 pp. Hamilton & Co.
 Curwen's (Jno.) *Sketches in Nassau, Baden, and Switzerland.* 80 pp. Ward & Co.
 Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society's Occasional Paper, for October.
 Essays upon Educational Subjects read at Educational Conference, 1857. 383 pp. Longmans.
 Fischer's (Kuno) *Francis Bacon: Realistic Philosophy and its Age.* 508 pp. Longmans.
 Fraser's Magazine, for October. Jno. W. Parker & Son.
 Graham (G. F.) *English Style, with Hist. Sketch of English Language, &c.* 372 pp. Longmans.
 Hutcheson's (Rev. Wm.) *Apocalypse Opened.* 421 pp. Glasgow: Wm. Collins.
 Jewish Chronicle, for October. Office: 7, Bevis Marks.
 Johnstone's (Augusta) *A Woman's Preachings for Woman's Practice.* 160 pp. Groombridge & Sons.
 Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record. No. XI., October. Alex. Heylin.
 Ladies' Treasury, for October. Ward & Lock.
 Liberator, for October. Houlston & Wright.
 Literary Churchman, for October. J. H. & J. Parker.
 London University Magazine, for September and October. A. Hall, Virtue, & Co.
 Maguire's (Rev. R.) *John Hampton's Home: what it was, and what it became.* 40 pp. Knight & Son.
 Memoir of Mary M. C. Methuen. By her Mother. 318 pp. Pewtress & Co.
 Murphy (Dr. Jas. G.) *Elements of Hebrew Grammar.* 119 pp. David Nutt.
 National Review. No. X., October. Chapman & Hall.
 Norton's (Jno. Bruce) *Rebellion in India: how to prevent another.* 244 pp. Richardson Bros.
 Onesimus. *Papers for the People.* No. I. Judd & Glass.
 Philosophy of Theism: Inquiry into its Dependence on Metaphysics, &c. 171 pp. Ward & Co.
 Plain Commentary on the Psalms (Prayer-Book Version). 2 vols., 472 & 478 pp. J. H. & J. Parker.
 Powell's (J. H.) *Phases of Thought and Feeling.* 208 pp. Partridge & Co.
 Pro-Paritan On the Anti-Paritan Teachings of Rev. C. H. Spurgeon. 24 pp. Simpkin & Co.
 Revue Chrétienne, for October. No. X. Paris: Ch. Meyreuis et Cie.
 Sheepfold (The) and the Common, or Within and Without. Vol. I., 592 pp. Blackie & Son.
 Smith's (Wm.) *Thorndale, or the Conflict of Opinions.* 607 pp. Blackwood & Sons.
 Spurgeon's (Rev. C. H.) *The Saint and his Saviour.* 472 pp. Jas. S. Virtue.
 Timbs's (Jno.) *Things not generally known: Popular Errors Explained, &c.* 247 pp. Kent & Co.
 Waller and Denham's Poetical Works. By Gillilan. 329 pp. Edinburgh: Jas. Nichol.
 Webb's (M.) *Annotation on Dr. D'Aubigné's Sketch of Early British Church.* 219 pp. Wertheim.
 Wilson's (Prof.) Works, Vol. X.: *Recreations of Christopher North*, Vol. II. Blackwood & Sons.
 Winslow's (Dr. Forbes) *Journal of Psychological Medicine* No. VIII., October. Jno. Churchill.
 Woodward's (B. B., B.A.) *First Lessons on the English Reformation.* 100 pp. Ward & Co.
 Word (A) to those who desire to follow the Lord fully. 24 pp. Wertheim & Macintosh.